



Theodor Herzl





THEODOR HERZL

A Biographical Study



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WITH SIXTY ILLUSTRATIONS, INDEX,
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, APPENDICES AND
BIBLIOGRAPHY

By
JACOB de HAAS

VOLUME ONE



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DEDICATED TO
LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

AS A TRIBUTE TO HIS FULL COMPREHENSION OF THE UNSELFISH
LIFE AND HIGH PURPOSE HEREIN
UNFOLDED

BY HIS DEVOTED FRIEND
THE AUTHOR

November 13, 1926

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JACOB DE HAAS

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FOREWORD

FOREWORD

In the absence of a comprehensive world embracing Jewish history of the last decade of the nineteenth and of the first decade of the present century, the presentation of the life of Theodor Herzl, creator of the idea of the Jewish State and founder of the Zionist movement, along ordinary biographical lines would have been meaningless, in parts dull, and often obscure. His thousands of brief, neatly written letters if collected would invite annotation, explanation, and excursion into fields of which the average reader can have little or no information. I have, therefore, attempted the portrayal from three angles of the man whom I knew well and revered greatly, part of whose life I lived fully, and who gave me much of his confidence.

First, portraying the man as he labored and as he understood his strivings for his people; second, seeking to deal justly with the currents of opposition which he encountered; and, third, sketching the conditions that prevailed when Herzl and his opponents struggled against each other. In this wise it is my prayerful hope that a generation to which the name of Herzl has become a potent legend, may possess an acceptable picture of a great Jew—the most vital Jewish personality in centuries.

Nature somewhere hid the matrix of an Assyrian monarch, and for its own good purpose rediscovered it, in 1860, to fashion the physique and mentality of Theodor Herzl. Great family tenderness and charming cavalier habits came to him out of his youthful environment.

From his twenty-fifth to his thirty-fifth year he followed successfully the career of a journalist and then found life had for him another, almost an inspired purpose. The "Yoke of the Exile" suddenly settled on his shoulders and to destroy its strangling pressure forever he revived an ancient faded dream, making of it a political possibility. Had Herzl lived a normal span of years his "fable" would even to him have become reality.

This protagonist of a Jewish State was of the stature of Kossuth and Garibaldi; in his desire for liberty endowed with the moral suasion of Lincoln, the political imagination of Mazzini, and the glamour of Disraeli. Like other liberators and dreamers he was the product of his time, but like other rare spirits he stood apart from his social and domestic environment.

His self-dedicated life saw glimpses of high success amid the ever crowding dark clouds of immediate failure. Out of nothing he made the Restoration of Palestine possible for his own people. But like Moses, he had to contend greatly with his generation; and he did not live to enter his promised land.

His record is transcribed with all its circumstances of hope deferred and disaster averted, a very modern life, lived at high tension but with great singleness of purpose. The writings of friend and foe, memoirs, correspondence, his own diaries and addresses, official records, and the current periodical press have been drawn on for this study.

If in it some haunting beauty remains, that is a tribute to the man himself. To a strange nurse called in an emergency to his bedside he "looked like the Messiah on a sick bed." To his followers he was the re-incarnation of "the pride, strength, greatness, nobility and worth

of the Jew which the centuries had destroyed.”¹ To his opponents “he was a statute without error or mistake, with the clear signs of genius, a countenance lit with the glance of Messiah.”² Even to his intimate friends, of whom he asked much, and to whom perforce he showed all his failings, he seemed a being of less common human clay than those among whom he moved.

JACOB DE HAAS.

¹Davis Erdach: *Theodor Herzl und der Der Judenstaat*.

²Martin Buber, “Die Juedische Bewegung.” *Juedische Verlag* 1916.

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CHAPTER I

MODERN JEWISH HISTORY

World Jewry in the Spring of 1896—Westward migration—Failure of amelioration “within” Russia—The Dreyfus case—Anti-Semitism—Germanic and East European Jews—Jewish organizations—Leaders—The Jewish proletariat—the “Lovers of Zion” and Palestine.

IN the eyes of the multitude of its celebrants throughout the world nothing distinguished the Passover of 1896 from all those that had gone before. True, Theodor Herzl, a Viennese, little known except to readers of the *Neue Freie Presse* and to patrons of light comedy theatres in the Austrian capital, had written the yellow covered pamphlet *A Jewish State*.¹ But the German and English editions published that spring had reached so small an audience, and the tone of this study of the Jewish question was so remote and impersonal, that even this appeal for the revival of ancient Jewish glory could not change the wistful tone in which Jews everywhere recited at the end of the Passover service, “a year to come in Jerusalem.” Zealots were to make much of this sentence in the near future; but at that junction this refrain, repeated also at the close of the Atonement service, served twice a year merely as a pious ejaculation, which, if it had meaning at all, lent only momentary color to the drab lives of its reciters.

¹*A Jewish State*, an attempt at a modern solution of the Jewish Question, by Theodor Herzl LL.D. London 1896.

Always, to thinking Jews, Passover carried with it a dread of the revival of the Blood Accusation. That monstrous calumny almost forgotten after the Damascus Incident of 1841, had become with the resurgence of anti-Semitism throughout Europe a hardy annual that gained vigor as it moved across Europe. For the nonce there was something like ease in the Exile. The first half of the closing decade of the nineteenth century had been full of tense experience for the Jews.

The second series of outrages in Russia—making “pogrom” a common word in all languages—had again shocked the Jews into action. The outrages called for the characteristic response, mass meetings, monster protests, and in London as a mark of the desperate plight of the Jews the decision of the Rothschilds not to participate in Russian finance. Relief funds were raised, the Russo-Jewish Committee revived its activities, and the girth of all charitable organizations was stretched in order to deal with the flow of refugees from Eastern Europe.

In 1896, after fifteen years of steady emigration, it was not realized that this mass movement westward amounted to an internal revolution destined to change the course of Jewish affairs throughout the world. Emigration committees and temporary shelters for refugees were established at important ports and in several capitals, all with a view to guiding the stream to the then receptive United States. And in New York efforts, still timorous, were being made to spread the newcomers to the south and west.

While the mass of emigrants that passed through Germany in emigrant trains were guarded as though they were prisoners, dribblets filtered across the border and

at least temporarily found their way into Germany and its numerous universities.

Running the gauntlet of Russian frontier patrols was the adventure for the Jews of the period. The Jewish communities on the German side of the border operated the "underground" system so silently that its romantic story has still to be written. To it was due the stranding of Jews in France, in Belgium, and in Holland.

More directly came the regular army of migrants to England where also attempts were being made to distribute these alien wanderers far and wide. Some few families drifted off into forgotten Spain and Portugal, the former having put out feelers showing that, for its part, it wanted Jewry to forget 1492 and Torquemada. Student refugees found opportunities, "to hunger and study" in Swiss and Austrian university towns. Small groups turned southward to Constantinople which already had a Yiddish element beside its Ladino speaking community. To Palestine there was a sufficient drift to make the Turk wary of new settlers, and to discourage additional newcomers Yildiz Kiosk issued only limited passports.

Stragglers reached the ends of the earth—China, Japan, Australia, South Africa, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, and Brazil. A great scattering to the four corners of the earth of the contents of Polish, Russian, Roumanian, and Galician villages and small towns was in progress. But the immigrants had become "cases" in the well groomed and orderly reports of Jewish organizations; Jewish social service—still lacking that distinctive appellation—had come to accept the new factors as part of the annual "turnover" in ameliorative effort. To meet the pressure, all extant Jewish organizations had

been re-organized; or supplemented by the efforts of the preceding tide of immigrants, new organizations were being founded. The period of hectic improvisation was over.

One philanthropist, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, saw in the events in Russo-Poland an opportunity to do something other than follow the policy of continuous migration, in which the Jews in every generation had met violent persecution. For the Jews are neither willing migrants nor travelling adventurers. They are a domesticated well-rooted social people, who are only pushed away from their established homes by repeated brutal onslaughts. It takes more than one pogrom to dismember even the most wretched of Jewish settlements.

The history of Bavaria is an excellent illustration of the unwillingness of Jews to move onward and away from a cherished center. For a thousand years church and state in Bavaria conspired to persecute the Jews; they were frequently expelled now from Upper and then from Lower Bavaria, but in the main the Jews clung to their inhospitable fatherland even when its marriage laws placed a fixed limit on the number of Jews who might permanently reside in one place. And this is characteristic of the Jewish record throughout Central Europe. The Jews are the "tribe of the weary feet," most of it occasioned by marching and countermarching within restricted areas.

Baron Hirsch, bereaved by the death of his only son, first attempted to stop the cause of migration by offering Russia money for education, showing by this gesture that he misunderstood the Russian governmental attitude towards the education of its peasantry as well as its basic intolerance of the Jews. When his solution

“within Russia” failed, Hirsch conceived a new policy, the mass movement of the Jews to a new land—Argentina—under new conditions, and a return to agricultural pursuits. Having already engaged himself in various ameliorative efforts in Europe, he was easily induced to enlarge the scope of his experiments; so at his expense Jewish agricultural settlements were attempted in various parts of the United States and Canada.

In 1891 Baron de Hirsch placed his efforts on a firm impersonal basis. He created the Jewish Colonization Association, founding it with a large capital and confiding his American interests to the American Baron de Hirsch Trust. In the spring of 1896 it was evident that in the Argentina he had succeeded merely in localising some Jews and, as he himself regretted, no public voluntary effort at settlement followed his initiative. Hirsch believed that by bringing the Jews back to agriculture he could induce them to return to the “simple life.” “They should not strive for great progress,” said he, meaning, thereby, that if they were satisfied to remain always below the topmost rung on the ladder of life they would create less opposition to themselves. But even with him the Argentina experiment was not an idea with a single motive or bound to this humble policy. He intended to hire an English ship, take a hundred newspaper correspondents to the Argentina, and show the world that “the Jews are fit for agriculture.”¹ The plan depended for its fulfilment on the success of the 1896 harvest. Before the corn ripened that year in Moiseville, the Argentinean settlement named for him, the founder had passed away. There was no world stirring harvest; no imagination in the trustees, who were his successors.

¹*Theodor Herzl, Tagebucher, Volume 1, page 26.*

to win the world to his idea of the possibility of Jewish agricultural settlements, paternally fostered in the new world.

A shadow of another kind—a shadow not to be lifted for eight dark years—hung over Jewry. In January 1895, Alfred Dreyfus, till then an unknown officer in the French army, was degraded by the sentence of a court martial which had, on a good deal of opera-bouffe evidence, found him guilty of selling military secrets, ostensibly to Germany. Prior to the accusation not one in a million Jews knew of the existence of Dreyfus, and Dreyfus in his turn had no association with Jews outside of his immediate family. Yet the incident had lowered the prestige of the Jews everywhere, and anti-Semitism, never wholly moribund in France, had, thanks to Drumont and his *Libre Parole*, assumed a violent political phase. Old stories of the "Blood Accusation" were revived, and the attack in one country lent color and support to the attack in another. Morbid stories of the vending of human blood from town to town by Jewish peddlers actually appeared in the newspapers. "Mort aux Juives" was stamped into the plaster of Parisian street corners. Even that colorless word *Kahal*, by which French Jewry designated community, was given a morbid and sanguinary interpretation. France was bitterly, ostentatiously anti-Jewish.

It needed no repercussion such as the Dreyfus affair to maintain the anti-Jewish tone in Germany. Stoecker, court chaplain of William I, led an aggressive anti-Semitic movement. Bismarck supported what became a political policy of William II, who was overtly sympathetic towards the anti-Jewish propaganda, though he seems to have had more than one view as to the possible

official participation of Jews like Ballin in German Governmental affairs. The Empress shared this antipathy and it is related that on her return from Palestine she publicly commented on the circumstance that its unavoidable unpleasantness was that she met too many Jews there. Ahlwardt, a belligerent publicist, succeeded Stoecker as the political leader of German anti-Semitism, and meditated the extension of his cause to England and America. Germany was in addition fomenting a scientific anti-Semitism which sought to justify Aryan cultural genius by replacing Moses and Sinai by the code of Hammurabi. In answer thereto German Jewry was gathering ponderous statistics showing that the Jew as a citizen was not so bad as his traducers painted him.

German Jewry too was keeping an anxious eye on neighboring Switzerland, which exemplified its own small brand of anti-Jewishness by prohibiting the Jewish ritual method of slaughtering cattle, under the pressure of the S. P. C. A. that otherwise was not notably active.

Galician Jewry was mostly hungry and poor, and suffering its own types of persecution, the boycott of Jewish labor in its few industrial centers, and the enforced baptism of Jewish girls. Austria, where the Liberal party, long the hope of the Jews, was weakening, was rife with political anti-Semitism, and in Vienna Lueger was elected Burgomaster on an anti-Semitic ticket. The situation was so critical that the Imperial Chancellor, Badeni, imperilled his own position by refusing to recognize the election; but this courage was only of temporary duration. The Jews sought to push back the tempest by joining forces with the Social-Democrats, who were otherwise the arch-enemies of the middle-class Jews composing the local Jewry.

Roumania was an old story of restriction and persecution, the end of which even the Tolerance Clauses of the Berlin Treaty of 1878 could not change. To "Carmen Sylva," Roumania's authoress Queen, only "long dead Jews" were interesting. Bratiano, the prime minister, completed the thought. "Living Jews were only tolerable as silent working serfs." The doors to "the army, education, and trade were relentlessly slammed in the faces of the Jews." By the application of a law adopted in 1881 to check the free movement of Nihilists, Jewish workmen were expelled from villages when they refused to work for what they considered too low a wage.¹

Holland, Italy, Bulgaria, Serbia, Denmark and the Scandinavian Peninsula were the only countries in Europe in which the Jews knew peace. Yet there was nothing to provoke the routine calm of the Passover of 1896. "Sufferance" was, for so many ages, "the badge of all their tribe," that preachers might well have felt disconsolate if out of passing incidents they could not have borrowed apposite illustrations of the Egyptian slavery, which was the customary background of their "Redemption Festival" sermons. An endless procession of Pharaohs there was, but only one Moses.

A much blacker picture of Jewish conditions could be painted, and Max Nordau did limn it in his masterful Jeremiad at the First Zionist Congress; but that picture was the vision of the acute analyst looking from without. From within there was only the patient dull age-long acceptance of persecution in one form or another. There was indeed a suggestion that the Russian persecutions

¹F. C. Conybeare, "Roumania as a persecuting power," *National Review*, February 1901; an excellent summary of the Jewish experiences in Roumania to that date.

had passed their zenith. Some minor act of Russian officialdom had resulted in the report that while "nothing tangible has been reported concession seems to be in the air." To emphasize the breathing spell the "favorite form of displaying anti-Jewish hostility in England the advocating of restricting alien immigration" was not inviting much public attention. A bill on that subject was promised in the Queen's speech but fortunately none was introduced." The euphemism "anti-Jewish hostility" for "anti-Semitism" was characteristic of the period. What was anti-Semitism in Germany needed a more veiled description when the reference was to England, in an Anglo-Jewish publication.

The Anglo-Jewish Association and the London Board of Deputies, the slowly withering Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris, and a score of other agencies held their regular monthly meetings, transacted their nearly always depressing business with characteristic earnest formality and patient interest, without thought that a pamphlet on "A Jewish State" was to color, and eventually change, the current of Jewish history of the next thirty years. Its leaders had heard and rejected the new prophet, had perchance even forgotten their rejection.

II.

World Jewry in the Spring of 1896 could still well be described as divided between the dominant Ashkenazim or Germanic Jews (with a sprinkling of Sephardic or Spanish Jews) and the suffered and victimized Jews of Eastern Europe who, whatever country east of the Danube was their habitat, were, to their western breth-

¹London *Jewish Chronicle*, September 1896.

ren, Russian and Polish Jews. Prior to 1881 Western Jewry had practically no contact with the Eastern majority. Even the historian Graetz, who carried his history from Abraham to the early seventies, had only an inkling of what had happened in Poland and Russia after the end of the seventeenth century. The great persecutions of the Polish Jews by Chmielnicki and the Cossacks (1648-56) had flung tens of thousands of Jews westward and in a sense remodeled Judaism in Western Europe. It became "Polonized." Graetz expressing in this a stereotyped German Jewish attitude felt aggrieved that these Polish Jewish emigrants had succeeded in stamping western Judaism with their ideals and concepts. Instead of studying the phenomenon the accepted mode was to ignore and snub all those who came from east of Memel, which is one reason why the currents of Jewish history have not been clearly identified and appreciated.

Western Jewry was not an organic grouping with common interests. On the contrary, except for such private conferences as were held at the writing of the Tolerance Clause in the Berlin Treaty, there was no attempt at united action other than that which extraordinary events called forth. In the international field there were a group of somewhat rival organizations of which the Alliance Israelite Universelle founded by Adolphe Cremieux was the model. It had started earnestly in the field of international politics with the acceptance of the ideal of Jewish brotherhood as its motto. But with the passing of its leader it had gradually subsided into a pro-French Jewish educational movement in the Levant, Northern Africa, and in the Near East, stretching out even to Persia. Zadoc Kahn—the French Grand

Rabbin—Narcisse Leven, the Rothschilds, and the Montefiore-Goldsmids of Belgium were its chief supporters.

The Anglo-Jewish Association, founded by Dr. Albert Lowy upon the rare Zionist urgency of the bibliographer Steinschneider, divided its scant political interests with the London Board of Deputies, which had an old charter authorising it to look into Jewish disabilities. Both relegated their interest in Russian affairs to the Russo-Jewish Committee. In general the Anglo-Jewish Association copied the educational policy of the Alliance but of course with an English bent. Through the natural liaison attitude of David Lionel Mocatta, London's ideal Jewish philanthropist, who acted on both bodies, the rivalry was friendly, and subsidies of foreign schools were only given after mutual understandings had been arranged. German Jewry and even Austrian Jewry copied the Alliance idea but less persistently—the German push to the East had not yet been discovered or discussed. To these bodies might be added the various Hirsch Foundations, and in most continental lands some sort of intermittent organization to combat local anti-Semitism. The Russo-Jewish Committee stood alone in devoting part of its energies to serious political propaganda. It published *Darkest Russia* which did its best to lower the prestige of Russia as well as the exchange value of the ruble. It dared to speak of "bankrupt Russia" and to add to the unpopularity of the "Bear" even before Kipling feared it because it "walked like a man." But this Committee mainly aided Jews to get out of Russia and financed Russian students at various universities.

American Jewry, which had willingly received the

immigrants of the eighties and early nineties, did not yet exist as an organic factor in international Jewry. Its interests were extremely local and intensely congregational. The struggle between Reform Judaism and Orthodoxy was still a real one and ritual problems were much discussed. Such matters as "Christianity and Judaism," "Sabbath Observance," and social ostracism were to the fore in pulpit discourses and editorial ponderings. Anti-Semitism occasionally manifested itself unpleasantly, but the communal mind was mostly interested in the great problem of assimilating the strangers within their gates of the great cities by the establishment of settlement houses, district nursing organizations and the practise of the whole theory of social betterment that had developed out of the Toynbee idea.

No sense of the sound of the restless tread of several million East European Jews marching westward is betrayed in the multitudinous columns of the American Jewish weeklies then published and edited by the Germanic elements in American Jewry.

III.

If Jewry was lacking in definite organization, it was equally wanting in positive leadership. With the end of the local efforts to overcome political disabilities the various Jewries practically disbanded as cohesive public forces and re-shaped themselves as congregations; but authority was divided between lay and clerical leadership, and the lay and clerical leaders seldom saw eye to eye. One could go a step farther and say that in active communities the lay leadership was somewhat in dispute between different social groups holding differing religious and even varying local political views. The anti-

Semitic idea of an organized Jewish leadership was a myth without even the slenderest foundation. If anything characterized the Jewish chaos it was the tendency of every group in it to move outward and away from any conceivable practical or useful cohesion.

Tradition gave the Rothschild family leadership in England, France, Frankfort, and Vienna, but no member of that honored family betrayed a positive attitude towards Jewish problems. They were concerned with Jewish welfare, whole heartedly philanthropic, ready to act when urged but without desire for initiative. Though internationally related, they were not internationally minded; instead they were distinctly English in England, and definitely Viennese in Vienna. Beaconsfield used them as the model for his favorite Jewish character "Sidonia," but the romantic spirit did not touch these great "Baalbattim" (house fathers) the sons of great "Baalbattim." Lord Rothschild, the English head of the family, was professedly orthodox, sensitive to tradition but with a desire for such liberal interpretation as made the Rev. Simeon Singer, the family chaplain (a mysterious ecclesiastical function to Jewry) closer to him than the titular head of the English community, Chief Rabbi Adler. With the Rothschilds were the Cohens and the Franklins—all stock exchange men—who shared their religious and political views and in different ways presided over the destinies of charities and organizations, rendering much service; proud Jews, proud of Jewish achievement, devoted to detail and dealing with the commonplace of Jewish charity in parliamentary language and form.

More spiritual and more deeply moved, but keeping even pace with their associates, were Sir John Simon, last

of the English Sergeants at law, Arthur Cohen, the portly Counsel to the Government of India, David Lionel Mocatta, the ideal philanthropist. Against them was the rising Sir Samuel Montagu (afterwards Lord Swaythling) the first English Jew to turn to the masses for support of his religious orthodoxy and political radicalism, and in between stood Claude G. Montefiore, then newly advanced to Jewish communal office, but with mind and interests in a religious field remote from most of his associates.

For all religious purposes, Hermann Adler, who spread the authority of his office so that he became Chief Rabbi of the British Empire, was first and foremost in England. David Marks, rabbi of such reform Judaism as England boasted, was practically retired from all but rare pulpit effort. Moses Gaster, Haham of the Sephardim (Chief Rabbi), an intellectual stormy petrel, had but recently passed through a struggle which left the world in doubt as to whether the handful of Spanish Jews wished to continue an office which, till his arrival in England, had been vacant for several decades. Except Gaster all these were dependable men who followed a set routine so well ordered that only problems of parochialism could stir them to excitement.

The picture differed little elsewhere—only the names were changed. French Jewry crushed by anti-Semitism was a somewhat nebulous affair. Baron Edmond was the Rothschild, “a striking personality with his bright brown beard, slightly grayed, and looking older than his forty years,” who stood out as a communal leader. He consulted with the diminutive Narcisse Leven, president of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, and with M. Meyerson, who facially vaguely resembled Theodor Herzl, imi-

portant as editor of the Havas Agence and deeply immersed in the Baron's philanthropies. French Jewry still had its Napoleonically designed religious organization at whose head was Zadoc Kahn, Grand Rabbin, a sympathetic Jew with many intense emotions subdued by his position as ecclesiastical head of a vague and unresponsive Jewry.

Germany, still intensely divided over the religious differences between orthodoxy and reform, possessed impressive rabbis and teachers like Hildesheimer and Philippson and Maybaum opposing each other, supported by journals warmly espousing the different dogmas, and by lay leaders who aided in the fight against anti-Semitism. Baptism had made great inroads on what might be termed the social stability of this community. Until the formation of the *Hilf Verein der Deutschen Juden*, which found scope for the activities of Dr. Paul Nathan and his friends, the Rothschilds, Hallgartens and Warburgs, set the tone in public Jewish affairs. At the same time anti-Semitism had done much to break the morale of the German Jews, who, however, were at this date more directly associated with the political life of their native country than were the Jews elsewhere in continental Europe. German Jewry with its many local Jewish publications, its many partizan Jewish centers—Berlin, Breslau, Leipzig, Mainz, and Frankfort—was the virile and intellectual center of Jewry with its rabbinic schools, its "Jewish scientists," and its Jewish publishing houses. Thus intellectually German Jewry led, whilst Near Eastern problems were focused in Paris, and Russian and Roumanian questions impinged upon the freer and more liberal and politically more influential Jewry of London.

In Austria, mildly divided between the Chassidism of Galicia and the reform Judaism of Vienna, Gudemann was the well-meaning if hesitant Chief Rabbi. Baron Königswarter was its aristocrat. The Rothschilds here were not active in Jewish affairs, and the men of influence like the Guttmans were of the middle class grown rich within one generation. Bloch, publicist and politician, candidate for parliament, represented the aggressive type of Galician Jews who were struggling with political anti-Semitism along parliamentary lines. In Vienna, however, Jewish university students were playing an active, typically "younger generation" part in public affairs.

The life of the Jews in such countries as Holland, Belgium, Denmark or Italy was severely localised. Each had its prominent rabbi, lay leader and contributor to the civilisation of his fatherland. An aggregation of brilliant names could easily be compiled beginning with Josef Israels, the Dutch painter, and ending with Georg Brandes, the Danish critic, but the catalogue would be misleading if employed to illustrate the existence of any organized force in any community, or even of religious cohesiveness between the Jews of different countries. Broadly speaking, the intellectual Jews who achieved international repute played no part in the life of the Jewry in which they were born. Under the stress of severe outrages in Eastern Europe some expression of the local communal attitude, generally in the form of modest contributions, was made known. But for all normal purposes the smaller Jewries were so remote from each other that the existence of their striking personages and leading personalities only became a matter of wide knowledge through the obituary notices which

Jewish publications everywhere zealously reproduced in full.

Behind the dark walls of the Russo-Jewish "Pale of Settlement" a few names stood out conspicuously. Baron Guinsburg of St. Petersburg, the "Railroad King" Poliakoff; Sachs and Barbash, merchant princes, and the three rabbis whose names were impressive everywhere—Isaac Elchanan Spektor of Kovno, Reiness of Lida, and Mohilewer of Bialystok. These rabbis held unqualified leadership beyond the confines of their own communities. Suffering Russo-Polish Jewry with the mass of struggling students that emerged from its rabbinic schools, of which Volozhin was the greatest, was the spiritual storehouse of Israel.

Cohesion among all these Jewries there was none. Organized relationship did not exist. The only unison that existed was that ages of similar experience had taught Jewry everywhere to mark time physically at the same pace, and to express resignation and resistance in an almost identical set of phrases. Were this a review of the literary activities of the period, there would be heard the continuous rustle of many pages laboriously written around the religious and ethical Jewish problems creating what has been called the science of Judaism or Jewish science. But we are here only concerned with the cloistered world of the learned when that learning affects the contemporary political problems of the people.

IV.

The Jewish "proletariat" was fathered by persecution, mothered by migration, and nursed by radicalism. Jewish poverty has a hoary tradition that lent the cloak of respectability to beggary. The industrial era with its

mass factory production system did not reach Russia till the eighties and nowhere outside of the "pale of settlement" were there Jewish masses. In western Europe groups laboring together were to be found only in two trades prior to 1870. The Jewish cigarmakers, perhaps the first to unionize in England, were workmen following a craft with some skill who did not believe that mechanical devices could replace the touch of their fingers. The diamond workers in Amsterdam, too, considered themselves somewhat above "workmen." In both cases they were Jews following trades, rather than Jewish laborers.

There were of course everywhere individual Jewish tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, tanners, cabinet makers, gold and silver smiths, and watch makers. The industrial era passed them by. Group workers might be found in Kolomea in Galicia weaving "tallethim" (Praying Shawls) as much a specialized industry as the Hebrew "type setters" of Warsaw. "Permitted" farmers colonised in the legalized Russian agricultural settlements. Salonica had its Jewish fishermen and Constantinople its Jewish porters, Hungary some farmers, but until emigration forced masses westward and the industrial age created sweatshops, "class consciousness" was not part of the mental make-up of the Jewish masses. A miserable pittance earned by the smallest of petty trading kept a poor world steeped in inexpressible poverty lightened only by prayer and vague hopes.

The immigrants wherever they went were caught in the net of the industrial era from 1881 onward. In part the enforced Russian Exodus created the new system. "The wholesale clothing trade was not an invasion of the area of employment of the English journeyman

tailor, but an industrial discovery," observed the social economist, Charles Booth. "The alien immigrant Jewish tailors converted tailoring from a handicraft into a manufacture."¹ The newcomers were the unskilled "hands" that factory production could readily assimilate whether it sought to "build" clothes, shoes, or furniture. The two former needed less physical effort, less working space, and less capital than the latter. The "sweated" and the "sweater" met on easy terms, and both prospered beyond any dreams that had been theirs in the poverty stricken places in which they were born.

No people were better equipped by poverty to become the material of the new economic order. Nine-tenths of the Jews were settled in industrially undeveloped lands. They lived almost everywhere in Eastern Europe on the uncertainties of hawking and peddling. One-fifth of the Jews in the Russian Pale of Settlement were recipients of charity at irregular intervals and even when commerce began to flourish in these densely populated areas a budget of one hundred and fifty dollars a year per family was regarded as normal. In Galicia nearly fifty percent of the Jews were without fixed occupations. Hunger made the Jews adaptive; the warmth of the "sweat shop" was not to be despised, and the money that came with some regularity at the week's end was a new experience that for a time at least overwhelmed all thought of the physical strain, long hours and unsanitary conditions in which it was earned.

The industrial era hit Russia about the same time that Russian imperial beneficence designed the "Pale of Settlement," so that the founding of cotton mills in Lodz,

¹John A. Dyche, "The Jewish Workman," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 73, 1898.

Bialystok, etc., opened the opportunity for massing as laborers the Jews herded together by legal enactment. The result was that by 1885 radical youth attempted to organize the first Jewish trade union in Russia. The transformation of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie into a proletariat was a process that escaped the attention of all but the radical intellectuals. The intellectual proletariat, itself a product of the conspirative secret radical teachings of the high schools and universities of Eastern Europe, aided by its own "luftmenschen," created that undefined individual and collective assertive radicalism which still characterizes the Jewish proletariat everywhere.

No more inwardly violent and outwardly silent change is on record than this change of non-laboring Jewish men into factory hands, followed by the slower translation of their secluded domesticated sisters and daughters into daily workers punching "time-clocks." Jewish married women were then seldom to be found in a factory or workshop. Although as late as 1898 there were not more than 25,000 Jews employed in factories in the "Pale of Settlement," by 1904 the number of Jewish artizans had multiplied twenty-fold. But even then the Jewish artizan class was estimated at about 37½% of the male adult population, whereas the merchandising class represented exactly one-half of the total.¹ The "Bund" or trade union with social democratic tendencies, holding its first congress in September, 1897, had the advantage of government opposition and therefore was in easy alliance with all political revolutionary elements in Russia.

¹*Recueil de matiereux sur la situation economique des Juifs de Russie*, St. Petersburg.

Elsewhere, in England and in the United States, the same results were produced somewhat more early and therefore more quickly. The Jewish proletariat was everywhere discovered by radicals, and the leadership in unionizing movements naturally fell to men expressive of all the intellectual extremes due to sudden emancipation—atheism, anarchism, socialism, etc. It was therefore natural that by 1896 Jewry was, among other chasms, divided between conservative somewhat religious capital, and radical irreligious labor. In the earlier struggles between the two camps, rabbis, the old time revered leaders, were called in to smooth matters over. To their amazement these rabbis had to talk in conciliatory terms to labor leaders, whose heresies included unqualified contempt for the "cloth."

The evolutionary process was not without its humors. The enforced emigration was to the radically minded a political, social, and religious emancipation. As aliens, and speaking only Yiddish or Russian, they could appeal only to their own kind, also aliens. Thus they could not exercise themselves politically in the countries of their settlement, and of the local problems they knew nothing. They were free and could speak freely but only within a narrow field. So their first onslaught was on Judaism—the religion and the religious community. They outraged the older settled Jews by their public desecration of holy days, and they invited Rabbis to attend their Atonement Eve balls. But when they found in the industrial movement an opportunity to create out of the pressing "bread and butter" problem a labor organization with advanced radical tendencies, they did not hesitate, in order to win the orthodox workmen, and to force the position of the pseudo orthodox employer, to demand

as part of the better labor conditions "release from all work on the Sabbath."

The rapid growth of the Jewish labor organizations, even though their structure was often feeble, showed that the newly created Jewish proletariat was keenly alive to its own problems. Its "class" instinct was still new and barely developed and perhaps warped by its doubts of the permanence of conditions. The "sweated" might become "sweater." But beyond this uncertainty of economic class distinctions there was in every Jewish bosom a great clash between inherited tendencies and new experiences. Perhaps the harshness of radical utterance and the reckless plunge into unfaith, which were so expressive of the early phase of the Jewish labor movement in Western lands, really implied qualms of doubt and resistance to misgivings.

These things then marked out Jewry in the spring of 1896, the routine of communal life, the clash between old settled and immigrants, the division between capital and labor, and the growth in power of the Jewish masses. Over all, hung, in varying densities, the widespread pall of deep prejudice, readily voiced, freely admitted contempt and ingenuously legalized persecution.

V.

Apart from all these phases of life, but touching in a bizarre fashion the fringes of all of them, existed the movement for the colonization of Zion. Intellectual parentage for the restoration idea can be traced through the redemption phrases of the orthodox Prayer Book, and to incident and literary effort through the long and tortuous paths of Jewish history. Disraeli had a flair for it, and the liberal Earl of Shaftesbury drew a plan for

the practical redemption. But Moritz Hess's *Rom und Jerusalem*, and George Eliot's still more direct appeal for it in *Daniel Deronda*, two books that are probably closely related, aroused little more than romantic interest. It was only after his experiences at the Berlin Congress, in 1878, that Dr. Benisch,¹ the editor of the London *Jewish Chronicle*, saw in *Daniel Deronda* a direct message of political importance to the Jews. But his appeal was a dismal failure. The realization of prophecy was not regarded as a working hypothesis on which to base organized action.

The movement towards Zion stood in 1896 upon another basis. Following the bloody outbreaks in Russo-Poland of April 15, 1881, two men, Lilienblum and Pinsker, approaching the same problem in different moods, came to the same conclusion: that the persecutions of the Jews should be met by some other ameliorative method than that of constant migration westward.² Their answer was in two phrases, "Auto-Emancipation"³ and the "Regeneration of Israel."⁴ These ideas, not very separate in thought were united as to place—Palestine. The philosophy of the Haskalah movement (the liberal intellectual effort initiated by an earlier generation) with its tense interest in the revival of the use of Hebrew, had

¹Dr. Abraham Benisch (1811-1878), a native of Drosau Bohemia, was probably the first of western Jews to be seriously interested in restoring Jewish independence in Palestine. A student at the University of Vienna he organized in the late thirties a secret society amongst the Jewish youth for the liberation of the Jews and as its emissary he came to London in 1841. He capitulated to the opposition then prevailing and in 1854 became editor of the London *Jewish Chronicle*.

²Mordecai Noah's plan for settlement on Grand Island, on the Niagara River in 1818 was unique in that it sought asylum in the west. There were, however, sporadic and unrelated efforts to colonize Palestine in the 60's and 70's of the nineteenth century.

³Leo Pinsker, *Auto-Emancipation*, 1st English Edition, London, 1897.

⁴Moses Loeb Lilienblum, *Regeneration of Israel*, 1883.

aided in Russo-Poland to create sentiment favorable to a Palestine colonization movement, protagonists of which still survive. But the actual movement was essentially a reaction to persecution. Pinsker's analysis of the Jewish problem differs in form but not in substance from that later presented by Herzl. Pinsker, who wrote in German, did not carry his idea so far as the founding of a state. He "sketched" the idea. "I regard three men," wrote Rabbi Rulf to Karl Lippe of Jassy (in 1900), "and that not improperly, three men as the fathers of modern Zionism, our ever lamented friend, Dr. Pinsker, you and myself. Dr. Pinsker certainly made the first move." And the venerable rabbi adds an illuminating sentence: "Alas, he knew very little of Jewish life and culture, probably not more than Herzl and Nordau."¹ Pro-Palestinean propaganda had been before this initiated by Lilienblum, but the first Chovevi Zion society was founded in 1882, in Warsaw by Rabbi Mohilewer.

Pinsker, whose brochure is the first document of political Zionism, immediately met with opposition from the embryonic forces of the Lovers of Zion, directed by Asher Ginsburg (Achad Ha'am). He yielded to the Chovevi Zion (Lovers of Zion) "without being able to change in any way their narrow and philanthropic methods."² Twenty young men, under the direction of David Levontin and Josef Feinberg, founded the colony of Rischon le Zion near Jaffa on July 30, 1882, fifteen months after the first outbreaks of the riots. It was the first attempt to solve the Jewish problem.³

¹Quoted in *Die Stimme der Wahrheit*, Wurzburg, 1905, p. 356.

²Davis Erdracht, *Theodor Herzl und der Judenstaat*.

³The following is from the original English text of an appeal, issued in four languages by the German Chovevi Zion Association, in 1891-1892, for

A similar desperate plight led to a similar movement in Roumania; and Lippe and Pineles started under even more romantic circumstances Zichron Jacob, in the Plain of Sharon. Except for Russo-Polish and Roumanian Jews, in the lands of their nativity and migration, the movement had little attraction.

Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the first wealthy Jew to take a consistent and persistent interest in the effort of Jews to settle in Palestine as agriculturists, who began to support the settlers financially in 1883, has never publicly explained his view-point; but it was owing to his potent influence, and the fact that Zadoc Kahn, the Grand Rabbin, was wholly sympathetic—perhaps the first Jew to call himself a Zionist—that the organized colonization movement established its first administrative center in Paris. But even there pro-Palestinean sentiment found its support in intellectual circles, Meyerson and Vladimir Haffkine, discoverer of the bubonic plague serum, being among the leading members.

On Jan. 12, 1885, Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler wrote

itself and the Odessa Chovevi Zion. Of its seven signatories, one was Dr. Pinsker of Odessa, who died before Herzl's rise; the other, Dr. Max Bodenheimer of Cologne, was among the first to join Herzl.

WHITHER WITH THE RUSSIAN BANISHED JEWS?

"That is in our days the principal question which moves all sensible hearts. Therefore not one moment is to be lost in procuring a fatherland for this unhappy portion of our brethren. Many projects have recently been devised to find the proper way to realize that end.

"In the annexed pamphlet, for the first time, there has been traced a plan grounded on a national and economical base to indicate the wished-for way; the end in question is not a fantastical imagining, but economically practicable.

"Therefore we apply to you, gentlemen, in full confidence that, even should your opinion differ from the views therein explained, you will be kind enough to assist us in our undertaking by procuring a quick circulation to the aforesaid pamphlet, so as to interest the public attention in our scheme which, for a period of ten years, has been directed to Syria and to Palestine.

"The net proceeds of the sale of the before mentioned pamphlet is to be employed to assist our Russian brethren."

to Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer in Bialystok: "I hope to be able to support the Colonization society as I loyally did in co-operation with Sir Moses Montefiore. And the father's wish is also that of my sons, Rabbi Naphtali (Hermann) and particularly the religious Marcus, whose whole thought and concern is the rescue of our poor brethren by settling them on our holy soil. But our *haute finance* will watch whether the colonists are really capable of doing field work."

In England two forces met, a group of Russian Jewish immigrants who began to stir up nationalistic sentiment in 1887, and a small group of quite another type. There was the militant racial Zionist, Col. A. E. W. Goldsmid, a man curiously apart in English Jewish life; Col. Matthew Nathan, probably attracted by his military colleague; Elim H. D'Avigdor, a grandee of the Sephardic community; Dr. S. A. Hirsch, a rare combination, an intensely orthodox Dutch Jewish scholar who was keenly nationalistic; Joseph Prag, an ironical mythical person who disappeared from the movement soon after the rise of Herzl; and a younger group that included the author. Each of these approached the problem from a different standpoint, though none found support for their idea in their own social sphere. They united with the Russian immigrant groups, divided between intense idealist nationalism and plain practical colonizers in theory at least, in an organization which, to satisfy the instincts of its leader, Col. Goldsmid, adopted military titles—clubs were "tents," and the central committee was "headquarters tent." It was an intimate, much ignored movement; its very name, "Chovevi Zion,"¹ meaningless to most English Jews.

¹Lovers of Zion.

A corresponding effort, "the Ezra" (1884), had been started by Hirsch Hildersheimer and Willy Bambus in Berlin, and M. Bodenheimer in Cologne, and as was the case in England, the small "Lovers-of-Zion" groups in Germany combined a few of the old German-stock Jews with a more general following among immigrants from Eastern Europe. Galicia, under the leadership of Dr. Salz, had a similar organization (the Admath Jeshurun, founded in 1883) in Tarnow, while in Vienna Nathan Birnbaum had for a decade fomented a nationalistic student movement which in addition to developing a theoretical interest in things Hebraic nobly contested with broad swords against the anti-Semitic student bodies.

In the United States there was a scattering of small colonizing groups, in New York, Philadelphia (1891), Baltimore, and Boston, organized by Russian immigrants whose ambition it was to resettle in Palestine. Similar organizations existed in Bulgaria and Roumania, and even among the newly settled Jews in Baron de Hirsch's Argentinean colonies; but the heart of the movement was in obscure Russia-Poland, where Rabbi Mohilewer was providing the religious and practical strength and Ascher Ginsburg (Achad Ha'am) spreading the intellectual cultural idea.

Although from 1893 the titular leadership rested with the Paris Central Committee, which theoretically guided all these scattered organizations, the aggressive control of Palestinean development was in the hands of the Odessa Committee. The burden of action depended upon the bounty of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who financed the Palestinean settlements. Of organized effort there was little; political action was unknown; a

flutter of obscure pamphlets and small publications edited with great zeal denoted the intellectual stir.

That there was in existence, as a direct reaction to anti-Semitism, a great mass of sympathy for pro-Palestinean effort the events of 1896 proved, but in the spring of that year those in control of the movement knew it not, or could not seize the opportunities at hand. Whatever the individual views of the original instigators of the pro-Palestinean movement, they were in the spring of 1896 so lost in the routine of their own efforts that one by one they listened to and practically rejected the arguments put before them by Theodor Herzl. They were trying to establish colonies without adequate means; they were endeavoring to carry on propaganda without funds. They could not succeed at little routine tasks; a new view from Vienna—a center which contributed no money—was not acceptable.

The settlements in Palestine were none too successful; moreover much money was needed even for their development. Rishon-le-Zion, the premier settlement, was enthusiastic over its harvest and its orchestra, and in Jerusalem a post-office had been opened in the Jewish quarter where the postage stamps were canceled with "Jerusalem," in Hebrew. But these were obscure and trivial happenings. The Turkish government, stirred by the Russian government, which in this case claimed as Russians its Jews self-exiled to Palestine, issued limited tourists' passports and made settlement difficult. Turkish officials anxious for baksheesh obstructed the issue of title deeds. Palestinian officials desirous of bribery opposed road making; the Jewish organizations in Palestine were politically as divided as the lands of their origin, whose politics they followed ardently. The

older settled Jews of Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Safed looked with contempt and dislike upon the farmer Jews who were bringing new ideas of life and a new basis for a livelihood into the country. The Rothschild administration of the "colonies" was French and unpopular. The missionary and malaria were both rife in the country.

World without end of dull suffering and dismal routine. Hope existed in Israel. Hope was a habit rather than a conviction.

CHAPTER II

THE MAN

Herzl's origin and boyhood—Becomes journalist and playwright—
First play produced in New York—Marriage—Paris correspondent *Neue Freie Presse*—Witnesses Dreyfus condemnation—Writes *New Ghetto*—The mental "eruption."

"THE life of Herzl divides in two halves, Herzl the universal child, and Herzl the bearer of an historic message,"¹ and the latter, who had a keen sense of the part he played in Jewish history, said of his desire for frank treatment of his life, "the Bible spared Moses nothing." The two halves of his life, though they never separated, stood apart and in supreme contrast to each other. The fatherhood latent in the immature yearnings, longings, environment, and family history of every child betrayed only aspirations toward journalism, poetry and dramatic writing.

Theodor Herzl on the paternal side had a great-grandfather, Lobel, who though an orthodox rabbi, even in his day experienced the bitterness of assimilation. For of his three sons, only one, Simon Low Herzl, Theodor's grandfather, remained loyal to Judaism. Lobel was a Spanish Jew who was forced in Spain to accept Christianity.² To escape the Inquisition he emigrated and as a Marrano, re-Judaized in Constantinople. The poorly

¹Leon Kellner, *Theodor Herzl's Lehrejahre* (1860-1895), Berlin and Vienna, 1920.

²Adolph Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzl*, Berlin, 1914. The same tradition was related to the author by Herzl at almost their first meeting in London in 1896.



JACOB HERZL. FATHER OF THEODOR.

founded tradition that the Spanish Jews were of the tribe of Benjamin, and therefore of royal Jewish blood, Herzl imbibed from a mother who, among other things, kindled in him that proud manner of the *Hidalgos* which marked him even in his adolescence. Herzl was born in Pesth, in the Tabak strasse in a house near the synagogue on May 2, 1860, where his parents, well-to-do, middle class, orthodox, observant Jews, had settled only four years prior to his birth. His father, who in Theodor's childhood was a strictly observant Jew, suffered various commercial experiences, and only succeeded moderately when the family settled in Vienna.

The family was not conspicuous either in Semlin, whence they came, or in Pesth, where they lived. Amongst Jews in the former city there are some vague stories that Lobel Herzl was a mystic and practised "white magic" or Caballa, but the author is inclined to believe that these traditions were unknown prior to 1900, by which time the local gossips had had plenty of time and occasion to invent explanations of the rise and fame of Theodor Herzl. If the latter or his father knew anything of such traditions they conveniently ignored them. Neither family origin nor place of birth played any particular influence in their lives.

His roots were thus not firmly fixed in his native Hungary. His training was really German, as was characteristic of the Jews of the period. Even in his youth he avoided his native tongue, and regretted after a brief vacation that "Hungary has become more Hungarian, more's the pity." He took little or no interest in Hungarian aspirations, and in later life employed his native tongue only in terms of endearment—petting words applied to a very select few.

An elder sister, Paulina, who died in her twentieth year, and who was greatly cherished by her brother, was the better student. Theodor, like all Hungarians, was educated linguistically. Besides his native tongue, and German, he learnt French, which he spoke and wrote fluently, though with some doubt at times as to the irregular verbs (he always employed French to express ideas of courage or fear). He knew English, wrote letters in it stiltedly and, though he never spoke it with ease, employed it at all times when his mind ran to certain concrete, specifically English ideas. Italian and the faint smattering of Hebrew, that went naturally with the typical religious school training, completed the list. As an accomplishment, piano playing was added to his curriculum, which bespeaks the period and the temperament of his parental household. Rather rigid observance of things Jewish, including regular Sabbath attendance at synagog, was part of his boyhood experiences, a typical, non-fanatical, middle-class orthodox background, such as prevailed west of Russo-Poland.

From his father he acquired a love of order. He kept his papers as neatly "as a good housewife would," in fact much better, for he docketed everything, even the literary scraps of his boyhood, with perfect precision. His father, too, encouraged a business-like habit of observing things in careful, almost pedantic detail. His mother impressed him with the importance of etiquette, a desire for the neat appearance and the high morals that became a gentleman. The careful attire and orderly walk of childhood converted itself in later life into "that appreciation of festive appearance and ceremony which had something of the high priest in it."¹ Correct attire

¹Kellner's *Lehre Jahre*.



MRS. JACOB HERZL, MOTHER OF THEODOR.

was always a consideration with him; at critical moments in his life he would reflect carefully whether he was wearing the right clothes and the proper gloves. He fussed over his ties and his cuffs, though in no wise a dandy. These things were to him more than expressions of breeding; they were part of the proprieties, of the eternal fitness of things.

In his childhood he had a tendency to scribble, and at six instead of playing boyish games he dreamt of surpassing de Lesseps by cutting the Panama Canal, "but" he added, "tell it to no one, otherwise some one else will do it"—evidence of that mastery which mechanics exercised upon his generation and made the vogue of Jules Verne's adventure stories for boys possible. His parents were sufficiently well off to give their son free scope in his education, but they destined him for the legal profession, and after the daughter's demise the family moved to Vienna, where Theodor Herzl entered the celebrated University. The tone of his religious social training is accurately expressed in the invitations sent out by his parents when in 1873, according to Jewish law, he reached his religious majority. The announcement card used the word "confirmation," a term employed by the socially advanced Reform Jews. Actually he was "Bar Mitzva," according to orthodox usage. The Herzl family, as this incident shows, was keeping pace with the conventionalities of the class to which it aspired. Orthodox practises were not yet being given up but they were being garbed in new non-Jewish phraseology.

He had no genius for the law and was not a brilliant student. His bent was toward writing feuilletons, farces, theatrical sketches, and verse. What he lacked

¹H York Steiner, *Die Stimme der Wahrheit*, Wurzburg, 1905.

at first in ability he made up for early in downright straightforwardness and in perseverance. He had joined a representative college organization but resigned when he found it indulged in a rather mild form of the prevailing anti-Semitism. He did not "lisp in numbers." If his boyish efforts are in any sense remarkable it is in their volume. And this holds good through his early college years. He acquired style and the power to describe by a great deal of effort. His diligence, according to his own account, was spasmodic. He worked and played in spurts and as his early letters show was far from a model studious youth.

He roundly abused his chum, Heinrich Kana, for reporting that he had graduated with what in American colleges would be described as "honors." That was not the case. "I cannot swagger like that." Nevertheless he went away on a long vacation, traveling through Switzerland, Germany, and France, taking good care of the spending money with which his father provided him. He loved travel and knew how to loaf when the opportunity presented itself. Even after his marriage, and before he traveled on his Zionist missions, he toured frequently and saw most of Europe west of the Danube. He liked the sunshine of southern Italy, the gaiety of Paris, and the massiveness of London. But he traveled most to acquire impressions and to cultivate his gift for antithetical description. He went through the formalities required of a law student, was in due course admitted to the Viennese bar, and performed the routine duties.

But these things concerned him little. He and Kana were determined to conquer the world with their pens. Editors and theatrical managers for a long while failed

to recognize their brilliance. Herzl competed for many literary prizes and failed until in May, 1885, he won his first prize and a temporary position in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. Soon thereafter he was off wandering again—Holland, Belgium, inexpensive jaunts. Then to Berlin where, with three one-act plays in his brief case, he enjoyed the intimacies of theatrical circles.

II.

Friedrich Mitterwurzer, a well known, all round German actor, was about to spend a short "guest-season" in New York. He read and liked two of Herzl's one-act plays. So it came about that one of them, "Tartarin," was not only "performed for the first time on any stage" in New York, but the first presentation on any regular stage of any of Herzl's dramatic efforts was this humorous piece at Mitterwurzer's opening performance, on Monday, November 23, 1885, at the Star Theater, 13th Street and Broadway.

"Despite the bad weather there was a fairly good audience . . . the first of the three one-act pieces in which Mitterwurzer appeared last night was a sketch of French origin (Herzl called it "Tartarin of Tarascon," and founded it on the life of this seventeenth century scapegrace) full of good stage effects, but well constructed, and with strong effect. 'Tartarin,' with which Mitterwurzer began his guest season, is painted with harsh colors."¹ " 'Tartarin' is new to this country. Its production served to show its striking similarity to Mr. W. S. Gilbert's 'Comedy and Tragedy,' the source of which has been kept mysteriously secret."²

¹New York *Staats Zeitung*, November 24, 1885.

²New York *Sun*, November 24, 1885.

Perhaps it was the last sentence that Mitterwurzer cabled to Berlin, but the New York appreciation, as relayed to Europe, was sufficient to give Herzl his start as a literateur and playwright in Berlin, and in his home city. An actor anxious to exhibit his ability to play three contrasting parts in one night, before a German audience, in New York City, made the reputation of a Viennese journalist, whose name was not even mentioned by his American critics.

Herzl did not, however, long preside over the literary desk which was immediately offered him in Vienna. He had unusual talent for sketch writing, was plotting new farces, but had not cultivated a habit for editorial work, to which task the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* assigned him. Some of his earlier letters he had playfully signed "Tartarin," but after its New York premier he used "Kunz" as a pen name in the Viennese journals. But such success as he achieved was rather with his plays, than with his journalistic efforts. The Austrian press offered fair encouragement to all young men with literary talent. Book publishers for a small consideration issued the "works" of aspiring authors. Talent produced esteem but not necessarily a livelihood. At twenty-six he was still partially dependent on a willing father, his accepted sketches covering probably no more than his traveling needs. But in 1887 he swallowed his pride and made a direct bid for a position on the *Neue Freie Presse*, where his work was favorably known.

He needed a permanent position now, a secure income, for apart from a keen desire for independence, he had in 1886 fallen in love with Julie Naschauer, a blonde blue-eyed Viennese, daughter of a well known Jewish family. Bacher of the *Neue Freie Presse* was

STAR THEATER.

Cafe 13. Str. & Broadway.

G. Amberg Direktor.

Nur für zwei Wochen!

Engagement des k. k. Hofschau Spielers

Friedrich Mitterwurzer,

unter Mitwirkung der Thalia-Theater-Gesellschaft.

Erstes Debut von

Frl. Mathilde Madison

Montag, den 23. November 1885:

Erstes Auftreten des Herrn Friedrich Mitterwurzer

in Drama, Lustspiel und Schwank.

Zum ersten Male:

T A B A R I N.

Schauspiel in 1 Akt von Th. Herzl.

Tabarin **Hr. Mitterwurzer**

Franziskine Frl. Sagedorn

Grattelard Hr. Kugelberg

Jean Hr. Boffianski

Telamine Frl. Becker

Philogene Frl. Lorenz

Artaban Hr. Adolff

Theodamas Hr. Bergan

Polyandre Hr. Szigrath

Ort der Handlung: Paris. — Zeit: 1620.

Facsimile of announcement of Herzl's first play, in the New York Staats Zeitung of November 22, 1885.

gracious but had no opening, and Herzl had to bide his time. Finally, in 1889, he obtained a permanent post and soon after married. Except that he had gradually acquired aptness for expression, incisive observation, and a broad understanding of human emotions, with something of the whimsicality of Barrie, and here and there a touch of that Heinesque acid wit which seems natural to those Jews who have any gift of humor, there was nothing in his literary efforts to that date that marked him for exceptional literary fame. He early acquired a reputation as a feuilletonist, but as a Viennese has well said of his native city, "There one either achieves reputation or one is nothing." His admirers are divided as to which of his travel pieces first made men hail with satisfaction the appearance of a new and interesting pen. His first collection of sketches was published under the title of *News from Venus* (*Neues von der Venus*, Leipzig) in 1887 and the year following his humorous pieces were gathered in a *Book of Nonsense* (*Buch der Narrheit*). His delightful sketches of the quaint characters he met in Amalfi and in Luz, a village in Spain, won him renown, as much with readers as with men of his craft.

His excellent literary style was perchance a little too polished for current journalism, but his real defect was that he was moved by no great passion. Indeed, his great fault at that time was that as a feuilletonist he was a decade behind his time. He eschewed realism, detested the soil of sex problems, hated obscenity, and his farces lacked that "double entendre" which, as everywhere else, brought most laughs on the German and Austrian stage. A cavalier in appearance, he was strangely indifferent to women; a clean, bourgeois mind

and frugal habits kept him apart in the Bohemian circles of his profession. German sentimentalism toward places and things, extreme tenderness toward children, courtesy toward women, whatever their station, were characteristic of him. Noblesse oblige in action was not the quality that brought good returns to a writer of farces, curtain raisers, and ephemeral literary sketches.

III.

But the fates ordained his path. In October, 1891, whilst traveling in Spain, the *Neue Freie Presse*, still fearing that his literary style might destroy his value as reporter, offered him the post of Paris correspondent, salary a thousand francs a month—they were gold francs in those days—and all expenses paid.

“As good a springboard as any to leap from,” he wrote his parents, listing the famous correspondents of the period. He accepted the position, leaving his wife and children to follow him a little later. In Paris he became absorbed in this new phase of his profession. The “Paris Correspondent” of a great European daily had, at that time, almost ambassadorial rank, was distinctly “a personage” who met the world at his ease, and hid in his obscure office his daily drudgery of composing and cabling messages. Herzl learnt how to translate an important phrase, uttered in the French Chamber, into an article; he studied politics, abandoned the theatre, and gave himself over freely to observing and writing his observations on French life. As a Paris correspondent he was a brilliant success. For four years he had nothing to regret except that duty having called him to witness the reception of the Russian fleet at Toulon he was seized

with malaria, from which he was never wholly cured. To recurrent attacks we attribute his many despondent moods, his fits of listlessness, and his frequent spells of fever.

He had come to think politically, to study the movement of the masses, and he was impressed with the unworthiness of the men who ruled states and peoples. It was a bad period in France—scandals, political and financial, fears of royalist revolutions, political disturbances—a hectic period that kept the cable busy with bewildering “news” stories. One had to know “Tout Paris,” a Parisian “Who’s Who,” by rote, to be a first class Paris correspondent in those eventful, uncertain days.

Into this maze of financial and political scandals came also in October, 1894, a military scandal—the Dreyfus affair. Except that it concerned a Jew, it was not an extraordinary manifestation of French public life at that hour. “The cabinet announced its decision to prosecute Captain Alfred Dreyfus, of the 14th Regiment of Artillery attached to the general staff, on a charge of disclosing to a foreign government secret war office documents.”

The Panama scandal had created an international scandal, the assassination of President Sadi Carnot on his way to the Lyons Opera House had shocked the world, the arrest of thousands of anarchists in Europe for alleged plots excited the newspaper writers, if not their readers. Into the melee of events went, too, this story of a French artillery officer court-martialed and convicted for selling secrets to Germany.

News, “copy,” each day was bringing its grist to the journalistic mill. Herzl, with his gift for concentration,

his ability to write thumb-nail sketches of men, to comment lucidly, was professionally a made man. Besides his older sketches and some plays he had even a successful book, *Palais Bourbon*, to his credit. It is a collection of sketches of French parliamentary life and French conditions, with a vein of gentle irony and a fine lyric quality. Though compiled from his newspaper work the book in no wise suggests a rushing, grinding, enterprising journalist, but rather a polished pen selecting things permanent from among the ephemeral happenings of the day.

The journal to which he was attached was famous throughout Europe, and its owners had markedly shown their admiration for the tall, athletic, swarthy bearded, Assyrian-king-like collaborateur, who wrote so gayly and vividly of the passing nuances of French life. He had thus, besides books and plays, an assured and coveted position. He knew the world of art and literature, and as a writer he could reach as high as any Jew could climb in Austria. Herzl had achieved all that a journalist could reasonably attain at thirty-five.

Then and there came a break. The first half of his life closed, not wholly, for he had to follow his profession for pecuniary reasons, but his ambition to win fame as a writer disappeared. He no longer wanted to observe—he sought to act.

The “eruption” in Herzl’s inner consciousness almost synchronized with the order of events that compose “the Dreyfus affaire.” Almost, but not absolutely, for Paris had been reeking with anti-Jewish manifestations for months before Dreyfus was arrested. The decision to try Dreyfus was announced on October 31, 1884, and he was secretly court-martialed, but publicly



CAPTAIN ALFRED DREYFUS AT THE TIME OF HIS
COURTMARTIAL.

condemned "to perpetual imprisonment" on December 22.

There was indeed excellent background for this sensation. The failure of the Union Generale, a Catholic banking house which had noisily proclaimed its intention of superseding the Jews in French finance was the more distant source of the anti-Semitism which Edouard Drumont had whipped into activity with his newspaper and pamphlets. The *Libre Parole*, a daily newspaper devoted entirely to attacks on the Jews, had for a time specialized on accusing the Jewish officers in the French army of intrigue and disloyalty. These libelous statements gradually assumed a personal character and Jewish officers were compelled to fight duels with Drumont and his associates. So in June, 1885, the intensity of the anti-Jewish campaign forced Captain Artur Mayer to meet the Marques de Mores, a professional duelist, and Mayer was mortally wounded on the field of honor. To look for a Jew as the traitor in the Intelligence Department seemed almost natural. On the other hand, that Germany was willing to bribe French officers was a reasonable acceptable assumption. That the French were suspicious of those Alsatians who in 1870 left their homes rather than yield their nationality is also among the ironies of history. If such an Alsatian was a Jew and an officer in the artillery and moreover attached to the Intelligence Department he was marked out for exactly that fate which befell Alfred Dreyfus.

The first announcement, made while the government was struggling with another military "affaire," appeared amongst the "Nouvelles Diverses." The prisoner was an anonymity; the crime was serious because it involved a charge of treason. But it took the boulevards a few

days to discover that the case was a sensation and concerned a Jew. The trial was hedged in with military mystery. The court-martial met with much pomp and ceremony; the names of Jewish character witnesses filtered into the press. Then for days the court sat in secret session, and the mystification and seriousness of the charge were enhanced. The anti-Semites had been busy. "Extras" were reporting the verdict in the streets before it had been uttered in court. The secret sessions ended in a blaze of publicity. The court moved to the prison infirmary, the doors were flung open, thousands gathered, and the police had to surround the building to hold the throng in check. Among the struggling newspaper writers who jammed their way through the mob to record a new experience was Theodor Herzl. The pale-faced but calm accused heard the sentence, and answered: "This is odious, but I am innocent." His protest was drowned in shouts of "Vive la Patrie." That night the boulevards boiled over; the moiling-Jew-despising, vituperative crowd kept its clamor going the two following nights. In the Hotel Castille, in the Rue Cambon, Herzl, composing his daily report, heard this public vilification of the Jews. Seven years later during a brief illness Herzl recalled having sat up that ill-omened night and written an essay on the Jewish Question for one of the French magazines, but despite much search this journalistic outburst has so far evaded discovery.

Herzl wrote the "Neue Ghetto," a Jewish drama, between October 21 and November 8, 1894. He told the story of its origin to his friend, Arthur Schnitzler, the playwright; he has recorded it in almost identical terms in his diary. He was in the sculptor Beer's studio, sitting

for his bust. "Once during the sitting as I was explaining the Jewish Question in Austria I became passionate. The emotion remained strongly as I went away. On my way home I conceived the plot in all its details." Later he recalled that discussion, and how it had moved him to action:

"The turn of the conversation led us to observe how little it availed the Jew to be an artist, and clean, as regards money. The curse persists. We cannot get away from the Ghetto. I talked myself into a passion, and was still all aglow when I departed. With the rapidity of that 'dream in a tub' in the *Arabian Nights* there arose in me the outline of that play. I believe I had barely crossed from the Rue Descombes to the Place Pereire before everything stood clearly outlined in my mind."

He had written an honest study of Jewish life that should win the Jews some respect, but he was not ready to acknowledge his effort. He sent it to Schnitzler and asked him to place it. The authorship should be credited to "Albert Schnabel" and the personality of Herzl in no wise associated with it. "If I get it on the stage my purpose is achieved. What happens further is *mir wurcht*. I laugh at money, though I have so little, and at reputation, which I lack."

He had thought by "three blissful weeks of glow and labor" to erase the matter from his heart. But as he wrote to Schnitzler in June, 1895, "You were right when with your clever insight you said that with this eruption I could not remove the matter from heart and liver. In those weeks in which I did not write you something else, new, much greater arose in my mind, that seems to me now like a rock of solid basalt." He had clearly diagnosed his own case.

IV.

There was the dividing line. The writer for fame and pay, the man following a simple domestic existence, had suddenly translated himself into a dramatist who believed that the idea he had involved in a play transcended all else. And at that the effort had brought no ease of mind. On the contrary it had merely excited his mind to more serious thought. Later he too began to understand that behind his "eruption" there had been long unconscious smoulderings that were fanned into flame when on January 5, 1895, Dreyfus was publicly degraded in the courtyard of the Ecole Militaire, in the presence of about five thousand soldiers. A Jew who had "protested his innocence" had become a public scapegoat. Herzl witnessed that scene. He long remembered the triumphant roll of the kettle-drums that smothered a Jew's protest.

Herzl was a Jew. The fact was part of his consciousness, forced upon him far more by anti-Semitism than by any interest in Judaism. Prejudice had lightly struck at him in his adolescence. It impressed him in his early manhood, and it was a visible factor surrounding his advancing career. The common Jewish race pride was his. He knew the Jews of his own class, the successful publishers, the brilliant writers, the artists of repute, the enriched bankers, and the middle class merchants. Neither religion nor theology interested them. Theirs was a facile acceptance of the current environment. Its modes, manners, and language they had in part assimilated, in part adapted in a fashion peculiar to themselves. Sentimentally and traditionally they were Jews.

"I was deeply moved by my attempt to re-

Nous annonçons ce matin, dans notre Dernière Heure, l'arrestation et l'incarcération à la prison du Cherche-Midi d'un officier accusé du crime de haute trahison.

L'affaire, très grave, est malheureusement vraie. Il y a quelque temps, au cours d'une enquête et par le fait du hasard, on surprenait une correspondance suspecte, des lettres écrites en caractères spéciaux. On arrivait à découvrir la clef du chiffre, et on constatait qu'un officier, attaché au ministère de la guerre, livrait, par vénalité, à un pays étranger, des renseignements concernant notre frontière des Alpes.

Aussitôt on commença une enquête.

Elle fut menée secrètement par M. le commandant Henry, chef du bureau des renseignements, et M. Cochefert. Pour plus de précaution et afin que rien ne transpirât, on envoya en congé le secrétaire de ce dernier.

La preuve fut faite, l'officier arrêté.

Le Conseil des ministres, à plusieurs reprises, s'était occupé de l'affaire. On avait décidé, pour éviter toute complication et tout scandale, de faire le silence le plus complet.

Au sujet du crime de haute trahison dont nous avons parlé hier, les agences publient la note suivante :

Des présomptions sérieuses ont motivé l'arrestation provisoire d'un officier de l'armée française, soupçonné d'avoir communiqué à des étrangers quelques documents peu importants, mais confidentiels. L'instruction se poursuit avec la discrétion que comportent les affaires de ce genre, et une solution pourra intervenir à très bref délai.

Quelques-uns de nos confrères ont cru pouvoir, hier soir, publier différentes versions de ce crime de trahison, versions d'ailleurs contradictoires; ils ont même donné le nom d'un officier, M. D..., qui ne figure pas dans l'Annuaire militaire, avec les qualités « d'officier, attaché à l'état-major général » qu'on lui attribue. Nous nous en tenons, provisoirement à la note de l'agence Havas ci-dessus reproduite.

THE FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ARREST OF OBSCURE
ALFRED DREYFUS ON THE CHARGE OF TREASON APPEARED
IN THE JOURNAL DES DEBATS AMONG THE NEWS
OF THE DAY.

In the facsimile (exact size) above the name of the prisoner is not given, only "the name of an officer, M. D....., who does not figure in the 'Military Annual.'"

Dernière Heure

LE CAPITAINE DREYFUS

AUX ABORDS DU CHERCHE-MIDI

Dès midi, une foule assez considérable s'était portée, dans la rue du Cherche-Midi, vers le Conseil de guerre et la maison d'arrêt militaire.

Mais le stationnement ayant été interdit devant ces deux établissements, les agents du 6^e arrondissement, chargés du service d'ordre, sous la direction de M. Bouvier, commissaire divisionnaire, ont refoulé les curieux à une centaine de mètres de la prison.

La foule espérait voir passer le capitaine Dreyfus; mais, depuis le matin, l'accusé avait été conduit au Conseil de guerre et enfermé dans un cabinet voisin de la salle des séances.

La curiosité publique, pour se satisfaire, n'a eu que l'arrivée successive des juges militaires en tenue de jour, de nombreux officiers d'état-major et du 31^e d'artillerie, ainsi que des civils, munis de cartes d'entrée, spécialement délivrées pour la circonstance.

M^r Demange est arrivé à midi quarante-cinq accompagné de deux secrétaires.

Aucun incident ne s'est produit et à une heure, voyant que son attente serait décidément vaine, la foule, chassée d'ailleurs par la pluie, a quitté la rue du Cherche-Midi qui a presque repris son aspect ordinaire.

L'AUDIENCE

Malgré les mesures rigoureuses prises par l'autorité militaire, il y avait dans la salle d'audience du 1^{er} Conseil de guerre, qui doit juger le capitaine Dreyfus, un véritable encombrement. Cette salle est, on le sait, de dimensions très médiocres: les 39 témoins cités par le ministère public et par la défense, les journalistes, et quelques rares privilégiés, membres pour la plupart de la famille de l'accusé avaient suffi à la remplir.

Vingt-sept témoins ont été cités par le commissaire du gouvernement. Ce sont :

- 1^o Le général Gonse;
- 2^o Le colonel Favre;
- 3^o Le colonel d'Aboville;
- 4^o Le commandant du Paty de Clam;
- 5^o M. Gubelin, architecte;
- 6^o M. Cochefert, commissaire aux délégations;
- 7^o Le commandant Henry;
- 8^o Le commandant Bertin-Mourot;
- 9^o Le capitaine Brétau;
- 10^o Le capitaine Besse;
- 11^o Le capitaine Mercier-Milon;
- 12^o Le capitaine Boullenger;
- 13^o Le colonel Colard;
- 14^o Le capitaine Brault;
- 15^o Le capitaine Sibille;
- 16^o Le commandant Gendron;
- 17^o Le capitaine Maistre;
- 18^o Le capitaine Tocanne;
- 19^o Le capitaine Dervieu;
- 20^o Le capitaine Roy;
- 21^o Le capitaine Cuny;
- 22^o Le capitaine Chalon;

commandant Patron, du 45^e de ligne; le chef d'escadrons Gallet, du 4^e chasseurs à cheval; le capitaine Freystatter, de l'infanterie de marine; le capitaine Roche, du 39^e de ligne.

Ont été adjoints au Conseil comme membres suppléants et siégeant avec lui: le chef d'escadrons Allinayer, du 48^e d'artillerie; le capitaine Curé, du 71^e de ligne, et le capitaine Thiabaudin, du 131^e de ligne.

M. le commandant Brisset fait fonctions de commissaire du gouvernement; M. l'archiviste Vallicelle remplit l'office de greffier. En face d'eux, M^r Demange, avocat de l'accusé, a pris place.

Aussitôt après la lecture de l'ordre fixant la composition du Conseil, M. le colonel Maurel fait introduire le capitaine Dreyfus.

Le capitaine entre au milieu d'un grand silence, tant est poignante l'émotion de tous à la vue de cet officier d'état-major, qui aurait trahi son pays. C'est un homme jeune, de taille assez haute, de stature élégante et svelte: les cheveux sont grisonnants; les traits accentués; le regard caché par un lorgnon. Sa physionomie indique l'intelligence et la volonté. Il porte l'uniforme de son grade et les aiguillettes d'état-major.

Le capitaine Dreyfus arrive difficilement jusqu'à la petite estrade qui lui est réservée au-dessous de son défenseur.

Il s'incline devant le Conseil et répond sans émotion trop apparente aux questions d'identité. On sait que l'accusé appartient au 14^e régiment d'artillerie et qu'il était détaché, en qualité de stagiaire, à l'état-major général du ministère de la guerre.

Au moment où l'on va procéder à l'appel des témoins, M. le commandant Brisset prend les réquisitions suivantes:

« Vu l'article 81 de la Constitution de 1848 et l'article 113 du Code pénal;

» En présence de la nature de l'affaire, considérant que la publicité des débats est dangereuse pour l'ordre public,

» Nous requérons qu'il plaise au Conseil ordonner le huis clos. »

M^r Demange se lève à son tour et demande à donner lecture de conclusions tendantes au rejet des réquisitions du commissaire du gouvernement.

— Soit, lui répond M. le président. Mais ne sortez pas de la question du huis clos.

M^r Demange fait un signe d'assentiment, et commence la lecture de ses conclusions:

« Attendu, dit-il en substance, que l'article 113 du Code pénal pose le principe de la publicité des débats, sauf le cas où il y aurait danger pour l'ordre public;

» Attendu que, si en vertu de la jurisprudence de la Cour de cassation il n'y a pas nullité de la procédure, si l'accusé n'a pas été interpellé, sur le huis clos, cette même jurisprudence lui reconnaît le droit de s'opposer au huis clos, arrêt de 1840;

» Attendu que la nature seule de l'inculpation est insuffisante pour permettre au juge de se prononcer sur l'opportunité de la mesure sollicitée par le ministère public; qu'il a le droit et le devoir pour former son opinion d'interroger l'instruction;

» En fait:

FACSIMILE DE REPORT OF FIRST COURT MARTIAL OF ALFRED DREYFUS, IN JOURNAL DES DEBATS, PARIS.

cite the Hebrew Benediction preceding the reading of the Law," wrote Herzl, on one occasion. All of his associates would have understood this emotion had he related it to them. They had their roots in orthodoxy and in the synagogue. Reform Judaism was merely a gloss to the generation that accepted it. Like them he reserved pet phrases of the Jewish ritual and verbal tidbits of Jewish jargon for intimate discussion, though a Christmas tree easily found its way into his home. He knew nothing, in matters religious, of the doctrinaire affirmation or categorical dissent of East European Jews, who were either orthodox fundamentalists or earnest agnostics and bitter atheists. He was in all such emotions as filial love, family sentiment, and Jewish race pride, so like the men with whom he was in contact in Vienna that he probably never quite understood why his fellows would not march along the new road he had hewn out, a highway that led him so far from their beaten paths.

In a plague-stricken area the plague cannot be ignored. Europe was stricken with anti-Semitism, the disease raged virulently in Paris and in Vienna. Its daily cat-calls which filled the anti-Semitic press—there were newspapers devoted entirely to the policy of villifying, badgering and pin-pricking the Jews in the mass and individually—sounded as gloomy as the "bring out your dead" in time of physical plague. Whatever the business in hand, Jews, when they met, discussed Jewish life; anti-Semitism forced this gloomy interchange upon them. Hence these partly assimilated Jews—Austrians, Frenchmen, or German—too subtle to be pious, too sensitive to forget their self-consciousness, were emotionally nationalistic. They avoided the term be-

cause it sounded inappropriate; to their nervous ears it suggested an accusation. But the emotion was theirs having remained with them at the tag end of two thousand years of group existence.

Herzl, forthright in thinking, direct to the point of candor in utterance, gifted with a marked capacity for visualizing in dramatic form every idea that marched through his receptive brain, never understood the denial of Jewish self-expression in which his friends so freely indulged. Anti-Semitism was not a new thing to him. The Jewish Question had impressed him in 1881, when between German polemics and Russian excesses anti-Jewish feeling exhibited itself in an active form. As often as circumstances compelled him to note the degraded position of the Jews he felt unhappy.

In Austria and Germany his Jewish face and beard occasionally exposed him to insult, but the suicide in Berlin of his boyhood friend, Heinrich Kana, whose literary exploits had failed to win the approval of editors, moved him so deeply that Herzl planned a novel in which the sheltered Jewish rich should be made to understand the misfortunes of the exposed Jewish poor. He seems from his early youth to have conceived personal dislike for the merely rich Jews. In Paris, however, his Semitic type was less conspicuous and he moved more freely. He suffered less, saw more, and acquired an objective attitude toward anti-Semitism. It had to him an historical background which could not be removed by paper declarations or by protest resolutions adopted in private meetings. Anti-Semitism was growing, it had been growing since his childhood, when, as he recalled, it had even faintly penetrated his day school in Budapest.

The ease with which Dreyfus had been condemned to Devil's Island, the readiness with which the world believed Dreyfus guilty, because he was a Jew, stirred Herzl deeply. The lowering of the Jewish morale that followed—for a time there was silent, fearful acceptance of the verdict of "disloyalty" cast upon all Jews in France—roused a passion in him. A Jew, associated with a great newspaper owned by Jews, he had to be constrained and reserved as all Jewish publicists were in all public allusions in the press to anti-Semitism. There was a convention in these matters that no one prescribed but all followed. No newspaper could be identified in its opinions with its Jewish owners. On Jewish matters no Jewish Paris correspondent, from de Blowitz of the London *Times* downwards, could identify his racial emotions in his correspondence. At most, a humanitarian plea, deftly turned to show the ill effects of anti-Semitism, might be penned. It was only in little, unknown Jewish family papers that scribes could speak more freely, and not too freely either. The ghetto had inbred a fear of avowing things that all men knew.

So in Paris, Jewish journalists, painters, and sculptors spent freely on each other that horror and consternation at anti-Semitism, grown colossal by its Dreyfus victory, for which they had no other outlet. Herzl observed this "wish of the overwhelming majority in France to condemn one Jew, and in him to condemn all Jews. . . . Since then, 'down with the Jews' has become a battle cry. Where? In France, republican, modern, civilized France, one century after the declaration of human rights. The edict of the great revolution is recalled." But he had no immediate outlet for these

opinions. He mentally exchanged places with Dreyfus, and, with all his fine nerves aquiver, experienced all the horrors that Dreyfus may have suffered. He felt involved in the Dreyfus tragedy; he felt his personal honor had been affected and his manhood insulted. He emerged from this conflict between Herzl the writer and Herzl the Jew with a new understanding of his relationship to the Jewish people.

His self-repression found its first outlet, as we have seen, in the writing of a Jewish play. But this effort did not suffice. The answer to anti-Semitism needed to be as great as that phantom of hate. He studied anti-Semitism from the historical viewpoint and thought he had found an explanation for its persistence. This analysis became part of his permanent creed. But the remedy? For three glowing weeks he sought by writing to release himself of his inspiration, but the more he wrote, the more he became convinced "that I must do something for the Jews." For the first time he went to the Temple in the Rue de la Victoire and found that the service brought him peace and a realization of the physical unity of these French worshippers with "bold, crumpled noses, furtive and crafty eyes" with the Jews he, as a child, had seen in the synagogue of his native city.

Herzl pondered the form in which he should express his nascent idea—novel, drama or cold essay; he even named it "The Promised Land." He had the feeling that he had made a discovery of historic value, but of doubtful application in the immediate present. He wanted to picture in a single perspective the "undeserved misery of the Jews—a demonstration that these are human beings whom men slander while not knowing them."

But subconsciously he had got far beyond the reportorial consciousness of the present. He saw an answer to this ugly, soul destroying, loathsome anti-Semitism. A cosmic problem required a cosmic answer. But he still doubted the wisdom of his own thoughts. Should he write a novel, essay, drama, for, or about the Jews. He discussed his attitude with a fellow writer.

Alphonse Daudet, novelist and anti-Semite, suggested the idea might be best worked out in a novel. Jewish life is only part of the Jews' life. Therefore, it is doubtful whether the average Jew could sense the grim touch with which Daudet, pursuing the argument in favor of a novel, reminded Herzl of how much *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had achieved. But the matter was too great for such a form.

"I have, for some time past, been engaged upon a task which is of infinite magnitude. As yet I do not know whether I shall carry it to a conclusion. It has the appearance of a mighty dream, but for days and weeks it has been permeating my whole being, down into the depths of sub-consciousness. It has accompanied me everywhere, towered above my ordinary conversations, peered over my shoulders, into the absurdly trivial occupations of the journalist. It has disturbed and intoxicated me."

So in a nervous, self critical, introspective mood he began at Pentecost, 1895, his diary, of which he himself wrote, "On empty days I am too weary, and on full days too busy to record anything so it becomes ever poorer while the movement becomes constantly richer."

Between the inspirational excitement attendant on writing his play and that first entry in his diary he had been thinking, dreaming, and watching the world procession from a new angle. "For some time I have believed that there could be no greater purpose to my life

than to devote myself to Jewish affairs," he wrote a friend, and added, "but employing different, higher, and more specific methods than those employed hitherto." The strain of his perplexities had worn on him; "the mirror shows me an aging face," he said in another letter. In his diary he added, "but the same person—in spite of changed features—is still the same. By the signs of aging I recognize my own maturity." He sought this consolation.

He could not believe the Jewish Question had thrust itself upon him without an amplitude of premonitions which he had ignored. The Dreyfus affair, he was sure, had only crystallized his emotions, observations, and conclusions. "The Dreyfus process . . . which I witnessed in Paris in 1894, made me a Zionist."¹ When he had finished the "New Ghetto" he was positive he had done a big thing. But he was reticent about it even to his closest friends. He had great reserve and, one might add, a gift for secrecy. Cautiously he described the new idea to his friends. They rated him mad, but he found that despite his nervousness he could total his telegraph bill better than could his ironic office associate.

"The conviction strengthened within me that I would have to do something for the Jews," and with Herzl, who had a fine sense of the connotation of terms, conviction always involved action. He enjoyed being "furiously busy." Either his mind was aglow with ideas, or his eyes were busy registering new impressions. Conviction, too, meant in him something more "than the

¹Theodor Herzl, *Zionism*. An essay quoted in Kellner's collection, but wrongfully described as having appeared in the *North American Review* in 1899.

zeal of the convert." He avoided the harshness of fanaticism, but his natural restraint could not quell that overwhelming up-rushing of faith in the right, as it was given him to see the right, when he arrived at a "conviction."

That "something" he must now do was neither more nor less than to solve the Jewish Question.

And in this reaction to an event of historic importance he stood alone. There was not a place in Europe in which the Jews were not bemoaning the fate of Dreyfus. They were not sure whether or not he was guilty; what they did know was that everyone of them was involved in this sentence. Many of the Jewish leaders knew a good deal more than Herzl of the history of anti-Semitism. They had experienced more of its buffetings than he did, but of all of them not one was provoked to action. The Dreyfus case was an incident outside of their experience. It was a situation that could be relieved neither by charity collections nor protest meetings. Herzl had no experience either of the one or the other. What was to become one of his chief difficulties later was at this moment one of his best assets. He was a detached Jew unfamiliar with conventional viewpoints and practices. He was unconventional, original. He was unafraid of those two words "Jewish Question," the existence of which anti-Semitism had throughout 1894 forced upon his consciousness. He analyzed the contents of that unpleasant term which Alfred Dreyfus' experiences symbolised. And having concluded that he recognized the causes of this disease he proposed to discover a cure; one that would prevent its spread—a cure that would heal the diseased tissues.

That decision denoted a man of great courage and

much determination. Perhaps he was captivated by the originality of the thought—"to solve the Jewish Question." And it was original in more senses than one. Herzl evolved the idea in complete ignorance of what others had attempted in the same direction.

These others would in all probability have never reached English print but for Herzl's self-consecration. Indeed, the decision involved the making over of Theodor Herzl. To write was to express thoughts, not an unpleasant, if at times laborious occupation. He who undertakes to solve something must undertake to act. Theodor Herzl stepped readily out of the critic's box to become the chief actor in a world drama of his own devising.

CHAPTER III

THE IDEA

Interview with Baron de Hirsch—Hirsch's views on Palestine—
Birth of Jewish State idea—Basic views on Jewish Question—
"Mass" settlement—"Misery" as a force—Jewish nationalism—
Concept of "State."

BUT his "conviction" was not like Juno's birth. In May, 1895, he drafted a letter, and after two weeks of meditation, forwarded it to Baron Maurice de Hirsch, "who concerns himself about the Jews in such an astonishing and millionaire manner." It was a bald, formal note requesting an opportunity "merely to have a Jewish-political conversation." That conversation concerned, he continued, an idea so vague that it might be "worked out in a period when neither you nor I will be here." He was in part trying to impress the millionaire philanthropist that he did not want to discuss money matters with him. Partly he was trying to maintain an air of aloofness, and from habit he was prophesying in the vein of sadness that runs through many of his notes.

But this was a temporary mood. In the next letter to the Baron he ventured to suggest, "I hope you will live to witness the blossoming of my idea." He foresaw a short life for himself, although a knowledge of his heart affection did not come to him till a year later. The real Herzl betrayed himself in a passing note to the peace advocate, Baroness von Suttner: "The man

who discovers a terrific explosive does more for eventual peace than a thousand mild apostles."

He was no mild apostle. All his decisions had too personal a quality for sainthood. While confessing that he did not know how he "passed from the idea of penning a novel to practical action," "the change took place in the unconscious," the riddle was answered by the temperamental characteristics that shaped his career as a Jewish leader. Whenever and however he was seized with an idea he immediately endeavored to put it into operation. As the journalist, he wrote his observations as rapidly as he visualized them. As the Jewish statesman, he tried almost single-handed to act with the speed, compression, and immediate decision of the journalist annihilating time and space.

He had discovered a new angle to "the Jewish Question," and he proceeded to stage his idea with the precision of the dramatic author arranging for the usual number of acts to be performed within the allotted hours of a performance. He was "timing" the restoration of the Jewish State within his own lifetime. His reaction to "speed" was modern American in its acclaim of "hustle." This arose from contemplation of the change in the world's power of mobility. He admired modern methods of concentrated efficiency. Two similies run repeatedly through his earlier addresses: The small, cramped villages of Europe had taken centuries to develop, while great spacious modern cities were built comparatively in a few years. Before the twelfth century kings crossed their domains in two-wheeled chariots drawn by oxen. In 1895 the poorest traveller covered in an hour the distance kings had made in a day. A new state to be founded in the "tempo" of the cable.

High tension was at all times part of the man. It dominated him as, wandering through the streets of Paris, he ruminated over his idea. The "inspiration" with which he marshalled all the details of his plan perplexed him, and there was something morbid in his observation of the fact that once he had set his mental machinery going, all sorts of progressive ideas fell within the scope of his plan. With Heyse he was

"Fearful he might that night pass on,
Before the task was ended."

So he deposited his papers in a safe-deposit box.¹ It was only after repeated heart attacks had lowered his vitality, in 1900 and 1901, that he recognized his mood was that of "railroad express speed."

It was, therefore, in a spirit of elation that on a day in May, 1895, Herzl's musings suddenly translated themselves into the request to discuss with Baron Maurice de Hirsch "the Jewish Question." The journalist approached the millionaire in no mood of inferiority. "I in no wise anticipate that I will immediately convince you, because you must change fundamentally many of your hitherto accepted conclusions."

The two visionaries, accusing each other of fantastic views, met and were sufficiently attracted to each other to arrange for another discussion, which, owing to the Baron's death, never took place. But out of the material prepared for this interview Herzl finally composed *The Jewish State*.

Baron de Hirsch, in association with the Alliance Israelite Universelle, had committed himself, in 1891,

¹Herzl confided the combination of this box to Arthur Schnitzler, the dramatist.

to an investigation of the agricultural and other possibilities of Palestine. The Baron wanted to resolve his doubts as to the stability of settlement and the permanency of relief from persecution possible in Palestine. In his interview with Herzl the Baron made no allusion to the existence of his curious memorandum on Palestine.¹ Herzl knew not of the existence of this document. Had it been mentioned by either, the *Jewish State* might never have been penned, but the Jewish homeland might have been established by the joint efforts of the journalist and the millionaire. The debate between the millionaire and the state builder, which took place on June 2, 1895, is thinly veiled in many paragraphs of the pamphlet afterwards written in the Rue Cambon.²

But in his account of the preliminary phases of that interview Herzl mirrors himself accurately. He was nervous, yet so meticulous about his person that "I had purposely broken in a pair of new gloves the day before so that they should look slightly worn, not brand new. One must not treat rich folk with too much deference." Baron de Hirsch's house was a palace. "Wealth affects me only in the guise of beauty; and here everything was genuinely beautiful." He noticed the details carefully and reflected: "Men of my kind are not thinking of these effects of wealth when they speak of it disparagingly."

When the Baron met him, Herzl began characteristically, "Can you give me an hour? If it is not at least an hour, I would sooner not begin at all." He was aggressive. He felt he had to straighten out the Baron's thinking. The same attitude was manifest whenever he

¹See Appendix I.

²In Paris.



THEODOR HERZL, AGED SIX.

met philanthropists. He thought they regarded him as a job hunter, and therefore to Baron de Hirsch he explained himself: "I never thought I would busy myself with the Jewish Question. So you, too, never imagined that you would one day be the Patron of the Jews. You were a banker I have been since youth a writer and journalist But my experiences and observations and the growing pressure of anti-Semitism have forced me to the problem."

He did not present his case well. As he subsequently wrote the Baron he reached only page six of twenty-two pages of notes. As always he had been nervous in the presence of strangers, a weakness he diligently tried to conquer. He had to explain himself more fully in writing. And even then his mind had not wholly clarified. He was more definite in what he objected to in Jewish life than constructive in his plan to overcome the Jewish problem.

"You are the Jew of great wealth, I am the Jew of the spirit; hence the difference in our roads and methods. . . . What you seek is to hold a great human group down to a specific level, in fact, to repress them. . . . Man has struggled much from his original condition to reach his present culture. And he shall climb ever upwards despite everything and for all time, ever higher, higher and higher. . . . I wanted to tell you about a flag I would unfurl. . . . You would have asked in mockery, 'A flag, what is that? A stick with a rag of cloth.' No, a flag, sir, is more than that. With a flag you can lead men . . . even into the Promised Land."

Unknowingly he was quoting Emma Lazarus' poem, "Bar Cochba." The upward flight of man is a conscious thought in many of his subsequent addresses; the rhetoric was seldom repeated.

This letter, dated June 3, 1895, was followed by

weeks of exhausting writing, "weeks of unheard of exciting production, in which I often felt I was going mad. At present, June 25—they are only sketch plans—they already fill a whole book. This labor is in every event for me, and for my furthest life of the greatest consequence—perhaps also for others." So he wrote to Schnitzler. The work of these three weeks was phrases, sketches, notes, suggestions, that found their place afterwards in the *Jewish State*. "I wrote walking, standing, lying down, in the street, at dinner, at night, when it hounded away sleep." On June 16 he wrote, "S—— was here today and chaffed: 'You look as though you had invented the dirigible balloon. . . .' Perhaps so, thought I, and remained silent."

On June 11 he wrote a letter to Chief Rabbi Moritz Gudemann of Vienna: "I have decided to place myself at the head of an effort for the Jews and I ask you, Will you assist me?" A nervous, confidence-claiming letter, explaining nothing, but which met with a sufficiently cordial response to call for a further letter from Herzl, dated June 16, in which he made it clear that he had formulated his notes into a "Memoir to the Rothschild family," of which sixty-eight pages had been completed.

"I . . . knew throughout the stormy period of production that much of what I wrote was fantastic and extravagant. But I avoided all self-restraint in order not to check the play of imagination." Such was the "inspiration" under which the first draft of the *Jewish State* was brought into being. On that day, June 16, "I believe for me life has ceased and cosmos begun."

"The Jewish Question lay in wait for me everywhere and upon all occasions. I sighed and scoffed at it, felt

wretched, but for all that did not really feel its grip." He believed he first began to think on the Jewish Question in 1881 or in 1882, but even much later his attitude had no individual quality. As late as the summer of 1894, when he went to Hinterbruhl, near Baden, and with Ludwig Speidel, a Viennese musical critic—"walking across the green meadows we fell to talking about the Jewish Question"—he uttered only one unconventional or new thought: "Anti-Semitism . . . is a strong and unconscious force operating among the great masses." The rest of his philosophising on that occasion was conventional. He then held that anti-Semitism would not harm the Jews, because they would adapt themselves to it; and it was against this theory that he speedily came to struggle with all his spirit.

What was new and salient was his admission that anti-Semitism was a popular mass movement. His generation believed it was instigated from above. The Russian peasant was never regarded as being anti-Jewish; it was believed, and still is taught, that he is led to excesses by propaganda. Herzl's first real contribution to the problem was the admission of the universality of anti-Jewishness. So world-wide a phenomenon could not be tampered with, it needed a radical world-wide cure.

Assimilation was not worth discussing. Nor could it be achieved. Assimilation was not a question of acceptance in society, nor the trim of a beard, nor the cut of a suit of clothes—not even conformity with every habit of daily life.

"Assimilation is the acquisition of land and honor in a country. The Jews were always prepared to do this. Was it

permitted? Where it is permitted today, will it be permitted tomorrow? We Jews sought to assimilate in the countries which have become anti-Semitic; but our quest for assimilation, because it took the form of acquiring land and honor, called for the modern anti-Semitism. . . . It is a simple fact: Where there are few Jews there assimilation is desired; when they increase in numbers their assimilation is regarded as a national danger."¹

Herzl's response to anti-Semitism was original. If the term was only invented in Germany late in the seventies, the prejudice that it described was at least as old as the story of Esther and Haman. Eugen Karl Duhring, whose anti-Semitic essays Herzl read in the eighties can have only slightly influenced him for Duhring assailed the Semitic spirit and denounced even Christianity as representing the "second aspect of Hebraism" which needed extirpation so that a higher ethical Nordic spirit might prevail in the world. The normal Jewish attitude towards this ancient curse was either argumentative—hence the large literature of history, causes, explanations and apologetics on the subject—or it was one of physical retreat from its malefic influence—hence assimilation. Anti-Jewishness was without mystery and novelty. Its alarms were not exciting. A graph could be drawn showing the periodic recurrence of massacres and expulsions of the Jews. Another curve could show the repetition of the world conspiracy charge. The Jews have been charged with creating the French Revolution, bourgeois capitalism, the European liberation movement of 1848 and the Socialist movement. W. Marr in 1879 declared the Jews had conquered Germany; a few years later Edouard Drumont borrowed

¹"Theodor Herzl: The Eternal Jew," London *Daily Chronicle*, Nov. 12 and 13, 1897.

the idea and accused the Jews of capturing France, and those who have a taste for the enquiry may discover that like tenets were promulgated in every country in Europe.

While the average Jew may not accept Renan's definition of him as a member of an "incomplete race," he could only shrug his shoulders at these suggestions that he was exercising so much power in the world. The Jewish pedlar meeting the Jewish huckster and comparing the pittance they had earned by hours of tramping might have found some quizzical consolation in the discovery from learned German and French tomes that they, armed with a coarse loaf and some onions for the evening meal were terrorizing Germany, controlling France and would eventually provoke a world war and achieve economic control of America. The absurdity of anti-Semitic teachings has always served as a safety valve among a high-strung, nervous people. It has provoked a wry smile—but still a smile. The practical phase of anti-Semitism, beatings, cuffings, cursings, insults, limitation of educational opportunities, economic boycotts, finally outrage, pillage and murder—produced tears. And between that wry smile at ravings and those tears there was produced in Jewish life a numbness, born of the monotony of misery and calumny.

There was another Jewish attitude, one that took refuge in the belief that anti-Semitism was a criticism of the Jews. Part of that criticism was erroneous and could be disproved, hence the literature of German anti-anti-Semitism; part of it the criticism of modes and manners could be gradually removed by changes in Jewish conduct. Morbid sensitiveness was the effect anti-Semitism produced on most Jews. Fumbling, fuming protests came to their lips, not a desire for action. The Dreyfus

case therefore created pain, doubt, humiliation and a vague uneasiness. It was not even impossible that Dreyfus was guilty, and at that thought his contemporaries shuddered. Clever rumor said Dreyfus was innocent but the gossip most current at the time, was that the French government had used him as a scapegoat to cover the disloyalty of a Jew of great military rank.

It required therefor detachment of thought, together with close observation of current events, which professional opportunities presented to Herzl to enable him to see in Dreyfus not only an epitome of Jewish suffering, but to discover in the trial of the artillery officer and the events that preceded and followed it an arresting panorama of Jewish life. Erasing all fine distinctions, blotting out the smug self-sufficiency which makes each feel himself the superior of the other, ignoring all the guards and defences, of typical Jewish resistance, Herzl admitted the reality of the Jewish Question and evolved its solution. He denied nothing, offered no exculpation explanation or apology. "The Jewish Question still exists. It would be useless to deny it. It is a remnant of the middle ages, which civilized nations do not even yet seem able to shake off. . . . I believe that I understand anti-Semitism, which is really a highly complex movement. I consider it from a Jewish standpoint, yet without fear or hatred. . . . I think the Jewish Question is no more a social than a religious one, notwithstanding that it sometimes takes these and other forms. It is a national question, which can only be solved by making it a political world question to be discussed and controlled by the civilised nations of the world in council." He dealt only casually with the history of anti-Semitism.

His interest was not in the disease, but in its cure—the creation of a Jewish State. The man was without fear or shame. He did not mince words. He did not approach the problem by indirection or euphuistic language. He faced ridicule and reproach without a tremor. He said merely “the Jews wish for a state—they shall have it.” And to Herzl “shall” was an imperative.

It was not special knowledge of the problem, but his frankness toward it that qualified him to solve it. His resources were his indefatigable concentration upon it; his ability to seize ideas, absorb them, and then transmute them to his purpose; his self-inspiration, which inspired others. He had the gift of prevision. He foresaw the “back to the land” movement a decade before it was started. But for his great objective—the actual founding of a Jewish State within his own lifetime—for this he deliberately labored, in spite of the fact that, at the outset, he had no personal background, specific political experience, or diplomatic contact. He was not even aware, until after he was engulfed in his task, that others had thought of the same idea. “Had I known I would have been discouraged and dropped it.” Although he had read English literature, he had not even heard of *Daniel Deronda*.

“Action is cubic.” Had he merely added one more item to the bibliography of Zionism, and had he poured into that monograph all the learning and idealism of his predecessors, it would never have been said “the Jewish people transferred their messianic beliefs to Herzl.”¹ He spurred himself into action, drafting a program of things to be done, in the order of their doing. He was not misled into thinking that writing or

¹Achad Ha'am, quoted by several followers.

speaking was action. And this resolve to act involved a great upheaval; for "above all he loved the molding of dreams and the contemplation of earthly events."¹

Two statesmen of the previous generation, Disraeli and Cremieux, were Jews with sufficient authority to obtain a hearing from the Powers for such a project as Herzl conceived desirable. But their generation was testing the value of political emancipation. They could have exercised the influence for which, however, there seemed no occasion. To Herzl the time was ripe for an action for which he lacked all possible resources. But he had one real advantage which contributed greatly to his rapid advance. His work as "Paris correspondent" had taught him that great offices were filled with small men, and that successful policies, extemporized out of hand, were, in the hands of able historians, converted into far-visioned statecraft. Therefore, as his diaries frankly reveal, having evolved his key attitudes, he took the diplomatic and political possibilities of his project for granted. Following ample precedent, he evolved "a day-to-day" policy to produce the desired result.

He had, beside infinite courage, faith and a journalistic belief that the "immediate present" counts. At a critical juncture in 1903 he said, "I do not care whether a hundred years from now a clever journalist discovers that I received this document at this time. I am not preparing material for the future archaeologist. I am concerned with what we do now."² His creed was "if you will it, it is no fable." And, though he evolved

¹Theodor Herzl: The Basle Congress, *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXXII, October, 1897.

²From notes made by the author August, 1903.



THEODOR HERZL AND HIS SISTER PAULINA.

that proverb long afterward, it is not only the spirit that forced him to action, but that thought underlies every sentence in *The Jewish State*. He willed it—and the course of events is showing that his conception of the power of the will to overcome by action the apparently impossible was correct.

Herzl accepted as correct the judgment: "He will be the Parnell of the Jews." "Uncrowned King" he became, impressing even his opponents that he "looked as Kings wish to look but seldom did." "Tall, slight, aristocratic; fine, large, brown, steady, gentle, questioning eyes in a still young, already severe face."¹ His followers idolized him, but his leadership, continually frustrated, had a peculiar quality. His motivating principles were never wholly accepted, seldom discussed, and only faintly followed by the organization which is heir to his ideas, and which operates in no small measure by the potency of his name.

The man who changed the current of Jewish history could not seriously deflect the point of view of contemporary Jews, because he came full tilt against a one-hundred per cent Jewish predilection. He did not believe in charity, nor the approach philanthropy made in relation to the Jewish problem. He saw that question whole, and, though he never made a survey, nor busied himself with the thousand and one details of the incidental factors that together compose the problem, his vigorous definite observations made from 1895 to 1904 stand today unchallenged.

The Jews, to him, were one people suffering every-

¹"Description of Herzl by Cardinal Secretary of State, Merry Del Val, quoted by Dr. Sigmund Munz in "Theodor Herzl and His Diaries," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. CXXVI, July, 1924.

where in differing degrees from a common oppression. They were the victims everywhere of their inferior minority position. He understood and realized "the inferiority complex" before it was catalogued. His radical conclusion was to transfer all those Jews willing to accept the idea, to a center where they would become the majority. He understood that in an age when all the Jews lived in ghettos, charity was the only answer that one helpless ghetto could make to the other. But he practically destroyed his possible favorable acceptance by wealthy Jews who could aid him in his plan by pronouncing "charity bankrupt" in relation to the Jewish problem, and pressing upon the wealthy leaders two policies, one political and the other economic.

Though in details he shifted ground repeatedly during the nine years in which he created and led the Zionist movement, altering what he termed his "combinations" constantly, he never swerved from his first conclusion that charity was a "futile outworn tradition," almost an obstruction to the solution of the Jewish problem. "What you have hitherto undertaken was as magnanimous as it was mistaken, as costly as it was useless. Hitherto, you have been only a philanthropist, a Peabody. I will show you a way by which you can become greater," he wrote in those first letters to de Hirsch, and commenting on the interview he believed he had influenced the Baron by that remark. For he had said, in talking to the Baron, "I regard charity as a thoroughly false principle." Again, "Among no other people is there so much charity and so much beggary as among the Jews. This suggests cause and effect."

Keenly critical he urged Baron de Hirsch to note that "dragging farmers" to the Argentine must result

in their conceiving that they had established "claims for further support," which would "not encourage the desire for labor." He was firm in his belief in the destruction of morale resulting from charity. Hence he preferred the workhouse labor test in payment for meals to undisguised gifts. He summed up his aversion to philanthropy: "It destroys the people's character." To which Hirsch agreed, but added that the rich Jews had no capacity for large giving for great undertakings, a truth that Herzl did not realize until many years after.

There is no evidence as to the exact date when the vague, unknown "over there" yielded to Palestine. It was a bottle of Palestine wine, then a very raw product, sent by a brother-in-law, Weis, that first drew his attention to Palestine.¹ But the conversion could not have been a sudden one, for both "promised land" and "beloved land" are in his rough notes of the *Jewish State*. He offered no resistance when "over there" was translated into Palestine. Indeed, he was laboring for Palestine before the ink of "over there" was wholly dry. He would probably have arrived at the Palestinean destination of his project by a simple process of elision. There was neither room nor opportunity for a Jewish state in Europe west of the Danube. Russia suggested too forbidding a barrier for consideration of a modern settlement east of the Ural Mountains. The promising open spaces on the map were in northern Africa, Turkey, Asia and in Asia Minor.

Herzl was too European to have conceived it desirable, in the nineties, to create a large Jewish settlement in South or Central America. East and Central Africa were still the "dark continent." Of Cyprus he

¹"Herzl Intime," by Jules Uprimy, *Maccabean*, Sept. 1902.

thought more than once. Mesopotamia, when suggested to him, failed to impress, because it was a far-off land, not the less mysterious because in it is "Ur of the Chaldees," and only entered into his "combinations" because it was the hinterland to Zion. Probably he decided in favor of Palestine, because he believed "the Turk could be traded with." When he returned to Vienna in 1895 he found a pro-Palestinean sentiment existed, whereas Baron de Hirsch's Argentinean effort inspired no enthusiasm either among the masses to be benefited or their leaders.

Herzl readily agreed that Palestine was the natural center to attract Jews. This won him the support of the East European masses, but he could never establish a personal accord with the East European leaders, because while they assented to his main objective they could not bring themselves to think of the whole effort in terms other than those of philanthropy operating along the established methods of congregational, communal, and institutional life. They believed this methodology was an expression of the inner consciousness of Jewish life. They clung to historic evolution, while Herzl sought to close one unpleasant book of life and start afresh on a clean sheet that was free of philosophic "water-marks."

Max Nordau, co-champion of every Herzlist idea, supported this attitude with his powerful eloquence. "The Zionist organization," he said to the delegates of the Seventh Congress (July, 1905), "is not a charity organization. Zionism does not distribute doles. It looks toward a higher plane. It acknowledges that its purpose is to create such conditions that the millions needing release shall be so re-settled that they will not

require charity.”¹ Two years later, when the full weight of the loss of the personal inspiration of the leader was being felt, Nordau, unafraid, pursued the same thought: “Zionism is a benevolent act, but not a benevolence. One does not slip a pittance to a people. A land is not a dole. Zionism cannot give to the Jewish people; it will not give to the individual.”²

The “merciful sons of the merciful” could only follow him at a distance to Zion. The multitude could not understand Herzl’s attack on philanthropy in his discussion of the “phenomenon of multitudes.” This parable runs: “The Baron and myself both wish to get a crowd of people on the plain of Longchamps, near Paris, on a hot Sunday afternoon. The Baron, by promising them ten francs each, will, for 200,000 francs, bring out 20,000 perspiring and miserable people, who will curse him for giving them so much annoyance. Whereas I will offer 20,000 francs as a prize for the swiftest race-horse—and then I shall have to put up barriers to keep the people off Longchamps. They will pay to go in.” Both the Barons, de Hirsch and Rothschild, owned horses that ran at the fashionable race course. The illustration was, therefore, too pointed and too provocative both for the philanthropists and for those trained during many generations to wait upon their largesse. The servitors in every type of ante-chamber have much in common.

IV.

“You talk of our having an idea,” said Heine gruffly, “we do not have an idea. The idea has us, and mar-

¹Max Nordau’s *Zionistische Schriften*. Seventh Congress address, p 167.

²*Ibid* Eighth Congress address, p. 175.

tyrs us, and scourges us, and drives us into the arena to fight for it, and die for it, whether we will or no." In that sense Herzl had an idea. The author who wrote, "I feel that with the publication of this pamphlet my task is done," was actually fighting with all his strength to achieve his purpose even before *The Jewish State* had seen the light. The idea in printed form was only an incident in the battle.

"The idea," said he, "is a very old one: The restoration of the Jewish State." In that form it was a wholly new idea, seeing that it separated itself in every way from all possible Messianic conceptions. He wanted "sovereignty . . . granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the reasonable requirements of a nation." His was a political concept: "A state is formed, not by pieces of land, but rather by a number of men united under sovereign rule. Man is the human, land the objective groundwork of a state." A Jewish body corporate should create the state, seeing that individually Jews could not accomplish the task of assuring "supremacy by international law" of the area of the Land of Promise. The state required a constitution administered by "a strictly centralized administration."

Jewish history had been too long interrupted to make "a democratic monarchy" possible; hence, with an eye to the best that the Venetian republic produced, Herzl favored an "aristocratic republic." He believed in equality of opportunity, but there were "no simple political questions which could be settled by Ayes and Noes." A theocracy was as unthinkable as a military oligarchy. "The Jewish State is conceived as a neutral state. It will, therefore, require only an army of volunteers . . . to preserve order internally and externally."

Only two groups of Jews could wholly accept these ideas—the submerged masses who believed they were “a people without a land” seeking “a land without a people” and that rare group in Jewry, those who having freed themselves from the sentiments prevailing in the modern Ghetto were indifferent to its judgments and its fears. Between these extremes were the ghetto-haunted who readily found compromising phraseology which for all time remained meaningless to the leader. Only socialists opposed to the economic policy he set up discussed the political basis of the institution which Herzl sought to create out of hand. His followers accepted restoration with a capital R and added “of the Jews to Palestine.” The Herzlian form and substance of the restoration they ignored.

The size of the area to be settled, and the number of the settlers were serious factors in his solution of the problem. Herzl thought in large terms. He wanted “a multitude” to settle “over there,” and he visioned that settlement as an organized process; “the poorest will go first to cultivate the soil,” and “construct roads, bridges, railways, and telegraphs; regulate rivers and build their own habitations.” He saw this organized movement drawing the middle class and even the wealthy, building a world anew. It was for the large idea that he started his “combinations” in 1895.

“No man is rich enough to pay for the transportation of the masses. That can only result from convincing the masses, by persuading the individual to help himself.” He did not believe that every Jew should become a farmer. The poorest it seemed to him would willingly till the soil, and as they created economic wealth the lower middle class and the upper middle

class would be attracted to settle there. He took little stock in the emotional satisfaction with which many Jews viewed the gradual developing interest in agriculture. He was as sharply critical of this panacea as of the employment of philanthropic methods to improve the lot of the Jews.

"The artificial means heretofore employed to overcome the troubles of Jews have been either too petty—such as attempts at colonisation, or mistaken in principle—such as attempts to convert the Jews into peasants in their present homes.

"What is the result of transporting a few thousand Jews to another country? Either they come to grief at once, or prosper, and then their prosperity creates anti-Semitism. We have already discussed these attempts to divert poor Jews to fresh districts. This diversion is clearly inadequate and futile, if it does not actually defeat its own ends; for it merely protracts and postpones a solution, and perhaps even aggravates difficulties.

"Whoever were to attempt conversion of the Jews into husbandmen would be making an extraordinary mistake. For a peasant is a historical category, as is proved by his costume, which in some countries he has worn for centuries; and by his tools, which are identical with those used by his earliest forefathers. His plough is unchanged; he carries the seed in his apron; mows with the historical scythe, and threshes with the time-honored flail. But we know that all this can be done by machinery. The agrarian question is only a question of machinery. America must conquer Europe, in the same way as large landed possessions absorb small ones.

"The peasant is consequently a type which is in course of extinction. Whenever he is artificially preserved, it



THEODOR HERZL, AGED 13.

is done on account of the political interests which he is intended to serve. It is absurd, and indeed impossible, to make modern peasants on the old pattern. No one is wealthy or powerful enough to make civilisation take a single retrograde step. The mere preservation of obsolete institutions is a task severe enough to require the enforcement of all the despotic measures of an autocratically governed State.

"Are we therefore to credit Jews, who are intelligent, with a desire to become peasants of the old type? One might just as well say to them: 'Here is a cross-bow; now go to war!' What? with a cross-bow, while the others have rifles and Maxim guns? Under these circumstances the Jews are perfectly justified in refusing to stir when people try to agrarianise them. A cross-bow is a beautiful weapon, it inspires me with mournful feelings when I have time to give way. But it belongs rightly in a museum.

"Now, there certainly are districts where desperate Jews go out, or at any rate are willing to go out, and till the soil. And a little observation shows that these districts—such as portions of Hesse in Germany, and some provinces in Russia—these very districts are the principal seats of anti-Semitism.

"For the world's reformers, who send the Jews to the plough, forget a very important person, who has a decided objection to seeing them there. This person is the agriculturist. And the agriculturist is also perfectly justified in his objections. For the tax on land, the risk attached to crops, the pressure of large proprietors who cheapen labor, and American competition in particular, combine to make his life hard enough."

The foresight displayed in 1895 as to the coming

influence of America in Europe is not the least striking of Herzl's qualities as a thinker on world politics and economics. He favored a regulated mass settlement, but never a subsidized settlement. All his negotiations with the Turkish government involved large numbers. So, too, he discussed the size of a projected settlement in El-Arisch in 1902 with Lord Rothschild. And it was in the same spirit that in 1903 he approved Von Plehve's remark that he could not interest himself in small settlements in Palestine.

Herzl thought literally in terms of multitude. His was a political brain. Minor operations could not cure the Jewish Question. Scornfully he said to Baron de Hirsch, "How many can you transplant—fifteen—twenty thousand?" The whole underlying relationship of cause and effect was transparent in the sentence that followed, "More Jews than that reside in one street in the Jewish district of Vienna." The same note ran through his attack on the Rothschild efforts in Palestine in 1900.

He thundered at the first congress against colonization as then practised: "It is not the solution of the Jewish Question and in the form evolved it cannot be. And let us admit that it has not met with enthusiastic response. Why? Because the Jews can figure, it is even admitted that they are good mathematicians. Now if we conceive that there are only 9,000,000 Jews and that 10,000 Jews can be successfully settled yearly in Palestine then the solution of the Jewish question will occupy nine hundred years. That seems to be impractical." And as the creation of the state was to him a problem of action, not of disputation, he listed all the desirable factors of material and cultural civilization

as useful elements in a newly created society. He conceived it possible to transplant in its entirety "the content of the milieu in which Jews found satisfaction."

Flowing over with hope, his energetic pen wrote, "Dig out the center and carry it over." Nor did he neglect in his picture of the order of their going the spiritual and religious needs of the emigrants. He saw mentally all the major operations of his effort, and discovered a use for every possible by-product. There was no waste in his vision of an exodus that would outvie a thousandfold the "exodus directed by Moses." Believing that Jewish wealth, as a matter of self interest, would quickly rescue Jewish need, he saw, in 1895, the Jewish State making a fine showing at the international exhibition of 1900. Convinced that modern labor-saving devices enabled one man to do the work of ten, and that modern transportation annihilated space, he conceived his great state quickly achieving an ordered cultural life.

He saw all the regiments in this multitude moving regularly to their allotted places, a gigantic systematized effort. The vision never failed him, but with marvelous self-control he kept his enthusiasm for his diary. Size? yes; economics? yes; politics? yes. These were fundamental to his public theses, but the brilliance, the elan, the "cavalry leader" spirit in which he set out to build his new world never escaped him in public. The force by which he might have won—his overwhelming love for his people—he never exhibited in public.

V.

There was a reason for the distance between Herzl's concept and his public utterance. He believed that he

had found a propelling force other than Jewish enthusiasm for Jewish causes. It was "the misery of the Jews." Having but little contact with actual suffering he was deeply sensitive to the martyrdom and degradation of the race. It affected the Jews en masse, and almost in his first contact with Baron de Hirsch he threatened him with this new pressure: "Before all things, we have the masses of the Jews." The mass experience could rescue the mass, once the idea had intelligently percolated. Later he said more pointedly, "All the Jews are richer than R." (Rothschild.) There was a point on which all Jews met on common ground—their experience of anti-Semitism. This was to him "entirely different from all the historic forms of Jew hatred, and must differ, because it arose after our complete emancipation."

Here again Herzl occupied new and unacceptable ground. Anti-Semitism is to the majority of Jewish leaders an old inescapable story. Hatred has been suffered and will be suffered to the end of the chapter of existence, though convention compels the public utterance of belief in hope for a better ending. To Herzl anti-Semitism was insufferable. He had no use for the "bent back," nor for the verbal protest in which the Jew indulged after being smitten. To him it was the ultimate degradation, a soul-destroyer that involved much physical pain and great poverty. That was a clear, outstanding, common political fact. Therefore, this universal Jewish misery, which no Jew really escapes, was to him a constructive force. He never dwelt on the details of anti-Semitism. He had no mind for rehearsing the items of Jewish suffering. The sheer physical pain oppressed him probably least. Anti-

Semitism was more monstrous than that. So he sought for the Jews "freedom from calumny and poverty." He broke this new ground because emancipation had merely privileged the Jews to discover that they were not really free.

Herzl had feeling for places. He never forgot the room in which he wrote the *Jewish State*: "I return to it moved by a feeling of reverence." One day spent in the peace of the English countryside with Alfred Austin, the poet laureate, won him to the belief in the height of English civilization. There was, therefore, a world of feeling in his tense sentence, "There are Jews everywhere—but nowhere are they allowed to be at home."

As the presence of the Jews was the cause of the affliction, he not only saw the Jewish question "worsening day by day" with the increase of the Jews numerically, but increasing with every migration into new lands. "Where it is not today, it will be manifest tomorrow." By its enmity the world was making war upon the Jews and, therefore, this was "not a time for historians, but at best for war correspondents." All the world was the battle front, but along such a long line there were occasional lulls in the action. Therefore, "the Jews desire to be freed from the fear of ever repeated persecutions. Even in lands where Jews momentarily do not suffer they quiver." If all Jews realized the opposition to the Jews in these terms there could be no question but that Herzl had discovered a sufficiently powerful lever for the creation of his state. The pressure of anti-Jewishness was to him the force that made the first Zionist Congress possible. "We

would hardly have met were it otherwise," he told the delegates.

Stepping over all the theologians, anthropologists, philosophers, and culturists, he wrote: "The distinctive nationality of the Jews neither can, will, nor must be destroyed. It cannot be destroyed, because external enemies consolidate it." Thus in 1895. Two years later he went further and asked, "Look at the history of nations and tell me has there ever been any exception to this rule."¹

In 1902, speaking before the British Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, he held to the same sweeping definition. "I will give you my definition of a nation. You can add the adjective 'Jewish.' A nation is, to my mind, a historical group of men of a recognizable cohesion, held together by a common enemy. That is my view of a nation. Then, if you add to that the word 'Jewish' you have what I understand to be the Jewish Nation." In this definition there was no room for the disputative distinctions between "a" and "the" nation, beloved of theologians who proclaim a Jewish "Mission" to a world which Herzl brutally and earnestly comprehended under the term "enemy." And this definition, ignoring "national self-consciousness" and inward development, was productive of much opposition to him in old Zionist circles.

He did not seek to arouse the Jews to characteristic self-pity, nor "to awaken sympathetic emotions on our behalf. That would be a foolish, futile, and undignified proceeding." This was axiomatic: "Every nation in whose midst Jews live is, either covertly or openly,

¹Theodor Herzl, "The Zionist Congress." *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXVII, October 1897.

anti-Semitic." To that militant condition there was one of two answers, "Are we to 'get out' now? And if so, to what place? Or, may we yet remain? And if so, how long?"¹ The best of his many avowals of the pressure of misery is the following:

"The very impossibility of getting at the Jews nourishes and embitters hatred of them. Anti-Semitism increases day by day and hour by hour among the nations; indeed, it is bound to increase, because the causes of its growth continue to exist and cannot be removed. Its remote cause is our loss of power of assimilation during the middle ages. Its immediate cause is our excessive production of mediocre intellects, who cannot find an outlet downward or upward—that is to say, no wholesome outlet in either direction. When we sink we become a revolutionary proletariat, the subordinate officers of the revolutionary party; when we rise, there rises also our terrible power of the purse."

The picture is a clear exposition of the thirty years of history that have followed. Almost a prophecy. But to Herzl it was positive pressure. "We are one people—our enemies have made us so. . . . Distress binds us together and thus united we suddenly discover our strength. Yes, we are strong enough to form a state, and a model state."

Of necessity the sovereignty of the state was to be achieved by diplomatic negotiation. This was ground that the older pro-Palestinian leaders could not accept; in this, too, they were joined by direct opponents who regarded the Jewish diplomacy here advocated by Herzl as an undesirable intrusion in world affairs. Herzl recognized no such disabilities. "The diplomatic difficulties are manifold. . . . There are,

¹German Reform Judaism translated this: Zionism says proudly, since the Christians do not want us let us build our home in the land of our fathers." *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1898, p. 305.

of course, a great number of existing political difficulties to be overcome, but these, given necessary goodwill, might be surmounted."¹ It was fundamental to his concept.

"Those who talk against diplomatic Zionism simply talk nonsense. Whoever wishes to do anything in a foreign country must begin by walking the diplomatic path. Only when one has an army of a million men can one begin to do things in a country without diplomacy. But if we take note of the facts we see that even the commander of a million men is uninterruptedly busy on the diplomatic path. What a resourceless and unarmed group of theorists can do, other than endeavor to accomplish something diplomatically, is incomprehensible to my limited intelligence."²

VI.

The terrain he foreshadowed was to be purchased and settled by the financial operations of "a Jewish Chartered Company, a joint stock company subject to English jurisdiction." While he hesitated at figures, he foresaw a demand for a round sum of \$250,000,000, a large sum in 1895. It was to be a "strictly business enterprise," free from the scandals of the type which just then were rife in France. It was not merely his conviction that philanthropy was futile that led him to view the creation of a Jewish state as a business enterprise. He believed that no other basis could serve for a worth-while economic foundation. Emotion for Palestine would draw the empty-handed there; reports of conditions favorable to earning a living wage would

¹Theodor Herzl, "The Basle Congress," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXXII, October, 1897.

²From Herzl's letter to Dr. Daniel Pasmanik dated February 4, 1903.



THEODOR HERZL AS A LAW STUDENT.

draw the great mass of lower and middle-class Jews to the Jewish State. He understood and knew acutely the mind and condition of these classes in the Austrian empire. "Business" could make "business" for them.

He saw three sources from which the required initial capital might be drawn: first the Jewish millionaires, second the Jewish middle class, and lastly a national subscription. This corporation was first of all to liquidate the individual Jewish interests in the diaspora. Neither the Jews nor their non-Jewish neighbors were to suffer by a fall in values resulting from the liquidation of Jewish concerns. Stability was to be maintained by exchanging property "over there" for property "here." The chartered company would acquire by private purchase the soil over which political sovereignty was granted. It would reap "immense profits" from this advance in the value of land. To these profits it would be entitled, because it had assumed the risk.

In a vague way Herzl opposed individual profiteering from land speculation. He was acquainted with Henry George's Single Tax theory, favored the progressive taxation of the land, but avoided accepting so radical a theory. He, however, conceived that the Chartered Company would sink much of its surplus profits in the task of providing adequate workingmen's dwellings and in maintaining the army of unskilled laborers who would do the first rough work of developing the country. He pictured the type of house in which the workman would live, and described his social and cultural surroundings much more clearly than his actual economic condition. Thus Herzl saw that at the start the "company store" system would have to prevail, but he had no liking for it. He was an individualist, and

in his diplomatic negotiations he always pressed his theory that by aiding his project Socialism would be greatly retarded. This was in keeping with his view that "we shall only work collectively when the immense difficulties of the task demand common action, but individual enterprise must never be checked by our superior force." While he suggested that the work of settlement would be carried on with military discipline, and he evolved a labor test for the unskilled, he thought that "even they will work their way up to private ownership." He was not particularly acquainted with Jewish laborers. He wanted to bring the Jews he knew, the peddlers and hucksters of the Jewish quarter of Vienna, into a new environment, and he pondered how the Chartered Company would prevent "those of our people who are perforce hawkers and peddlers re-establishing themselves in the same trades over there."

His economics were thus more a matter of commercial finance and deep-rooted opposition to charity than a social theory. He believed in co-operation as practiced by the Rochdale Pioneers, studied "mutualization"—a liberal, not a radical social thinker. Yet he committed himself in the *Jewish State* to the most advanced tenet—a seven-hour labor day. He saw his people moving under a banner with seven golden stars, the seven-hour labor day, divided into two periods each of three and one-half hours with an interval of three and one-half hours between for recreation and study.¹

¹Col. A. E. W. Goldsmid opposed the principle as too radical. But he also opposed the design. In March 1897, when there was already tension between Herzl and Goldsmid over the congress, the latter wrote us: "It is most extraordinary how one's words get distorted. I had a letter from Mr. S. B. Rubenstein stating that my speech at the Cambridge University Tent was a denunciation of Dr. Herzl!

"I had the Chovevi Zion banner displayed at the lecture and naturally

Seven hours labor each day should suffice and make for a better world, within and without the Land of Promise.

So would he create the Jewish State. This was the idea. But in the great sun of hope he was creating he saw a cloud of sadness.

"Old customs, old memories attach us to our homes. We have cradles. We have graves, and we alone know how Jewish hearts cling to the graves. Our cradles we shall carry with us, they hold our future, rosy and smiling. Our beloved graves we must, alas, abandon—and I think this abandonment will cost us, covetous people, more than any other sacrifice."

referred to the seven starred banner proposed by Dr. Herzl and stated that I preferred our flag to his, as it embraced the religious and historical idea, whereas his introduced social questions about which there were differences of opinion, and had no historical association and was an imitation of the flags of American Republics."

The Lovers of Zion banner had twelve stars for the Twelve Tribes. The origin of the now accepted Jewish flag—two bars of light blue with a white center filled with a Shield of David—is not clear. Isidor S. Donn, a Russian Jewish artist, who resided in London, made the first flag we ever saw. This was in 1893 in London. Donn claimed to have originated it and stated that the colors were based on Biblical authority, and the stripes copied from the Tallith (praying shawl). There is good reason for suggesting that the blue was originally Tyrean purple, and that the English Rothschilds' racing colors, purple and amber, were nearer to the ancient Jewish battle banners.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST SKIRMISHES

Difficulties with *Neue Freie Presse*—Austrian anti-Semitism—Israel Zangwill—First Meeting with “Maccabaeans”—Montagu’s support—Publication of *Jewish State*—Ridicule and Applause—Hechler the British Ambassador’s Chaplain—First audience with the Grand Duke of Baden—Newlinsky, the Sultan’s secret agent—Diplomatic chess in Stamboul—“You are holier than the law.”

“**A** MAN of ambition, imagination, some vanity and much will.” This description by one English statesman of another aptly described Theodor Herzl. “He was well aware of his worth. Time and time again, at one juncture or another, I have heard from his lips Horace’s words: ‘Non omnis moria.’”¹ He needed much will, more imagination, and still more ambition for his cause, else his “Jewish State” would have died aborning. By no means cast down by his failure to convince Baron de Hirsch, he reshaped his ideas in the form of a “family letter” to the Rothschild family; and reaching out for the first time he thrust letter after letter upon Moritz Gudemann, Chief Rabbi of Vienna. Imperiously he demanded that the Rabbi meet him, and to Gudemann and Dr. Heinrich Meyer Cohn—“the exterior of a petty Berlin Jew, the interior equally small”—he first outlined, in a hotel in Munich, in full detail his idea. Cohn was at once certain that

¹Dr. Sigmund Munz, “Theodor Herzl and His Diaries,” *Contemporary Review*, Vol. CXXVI. July 1924.



JULIE NASCHAUER, BEFORE HER MARRIAGE.

the rich Jews would have none of it, but he brought Herzl into contact with Narcisse Leven, President of the Alliance Israelite Universelle of Paris, whom Herzl immediately recognized as an opponent. Cohn had a distinct leaning toward Jewish nationalism, but did not favor the Jewish State idea. A year later he wrote that he was "chronologically the first opponent to political Zionism, having been at the original presentation of the project of the Jewish State to Chief Rabbi Gudemann."¹ He acknowledged that he did not foresee Herzl's propagandist ability. Gudemann was deeply moved. Herzl appeared to him as another Moses—there could be no higher praise—and he added at this time, "Perhaps you have been providentially sent."

He won both his parents to his assumption of this new and astonishing role, and at times thought of his father as his only supporter. His mother approved her son, though his ideas rather bewildered her. But he never convinced his wife of the wisdom or desirability of the part he sought to play in Jewish life. She liked society, not public life. The crowd of poor Jews who soon came to her door to beg and petition the new leader did not enhance her interest in a cause for which she had no natural emotion. She preferred a husband to a hero, and was distressed at losing the former, while the Jewish people gained the latter. Strictly a Viennese of her period, she preferred the Prater to all other places, and in her home her friends and relatives sufficed. When presentation at the British court was offered she declined the honor together with all the attendant social distinctions. She disliked travel and this merely added to her distrust and disregard for a move-

¹Bloch's *Wochenschrift*, p. 712, 1897.

ment which made her husband the traveling ambassador of his people. Her insularity was not uncommon; circumstances merely exaggerated and brought it into relief. Zionism was a home destroyer.

Herzl immediately carried his Zionist preoccupations from his office to his home. His reception room was also his library and his study. The walls were hidden by bookcases, with everything in the neatest order. A youthful portrait of the occupant had space on the wall, but it reflected the well-known features of the man very crudely. The most striking piece of furniture in this study was the desk, with its arrangement of pigeon-holes. Nothing was untidy; even the bunch of cigars and Viennese holders had their fixed place. This room was the scene of the evening reunion of the whole family. The parents of the master of the house witnessed regularly this charming gathering, over which the loyal and loving teacher of her children, Mrs. Herzl, presided. This was the happiest hour that was spent by them. He loved his children's prattle, and worked steadily while they chatted. He always carried pictures of them with him. But the cause came first. When he settled in Paris his parents followed him there. When they determined that life in Vienna was for them more suitable, Herzl gave up his position as Paris correspondent and accepted that of literary editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

Returning to Vienna in October, Herzl impetuously demanded that Bacher and Benedict, the owners and editors of the *Neue Freie Presse*, make their publication the organ of his newly-discovered cause. Hesitant, at first, as to the method, but not as to the substance of their answer, they began to adopt that courte-

ous and considerate attitude to their collaborateur which characterized their relationship to the end. They admired, almost feared, the brilliant writer. In a way they loved him, too. But as to his idea, they saw only one possible policy, to ignore it, else their publication would be hailed as "Judenblatt." "Jew Paper" was not a desirable description. Almost thirty years later, when Austria had been reduced to little more than the city state of Vienna, and the glory of its leading journal was much dimmed, Dr. Sigmund Munz, one of Herzl's co-workers on the newspaper, wrote, without comment or apparent regret, of 1895. "This leading Austrian newspaper was apprehensive of being identified with a movement which was, after all, only the private concern of one of its most eminent contributors. It sought rather to identify itself with German-Austrian liberalism. In Zionism it saw a kind of Jewish edition of anti-Semitism."¹ Zionism did not exist for the *Neue Freie Presse* till its author passed away—when the fear of identification between editor and cause had disappeared.

Thus, at the outset of his career, began the tragic struggle between the leader who boldly told men that he could not be "majorized," and the provider of family bread and butter who, because of his now dominant idea, felt chained to an alien desk, identified with those who by their silence showed publicly their supreme contempt for his beloved ideal. Often he pitied himself. Sometimes he pitied the Jews, whose misfortune it was that their redeemer was himself a wage slave. Extremely sensitive, he felt belittled by this attitude of

¹"Theodor Herzl and His Diaries," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. CXXVI. July 1924.

his employers. It preyed upon him: "I grow small as I approach Vienna," he wrote. But ever and anon he sought to break the fatal chain by attempting to found a new daily newspaper in Vienna.

At the height of the first difference, in 1895, the Austrian government, under Count Badeni, was considering the founding of a new paper to support its policies. Herzl, offered the editorship, was willing to exchange support of the government—with which he was in sympathy—for a free hand in "Jewish politics." The negotiations fell through, partly owing to Herzl's firmness; but undismayed he met Rabbi Gudemann's hesitant advice with the sarcasm, "You are a protected Jew; I am a protecting Jew."

The election, at this time, of the anti-Semite Lueger as Burgomaster of Vienna seemed the final insult to the Viennese Jews, who cast about for a new policy. Herzl attended their semi-public gatherings and gleefully heard Elbogen, one of the communal leaders, advise the creation of a new popular liberal party: "or nothing remains but to proclaim Jewish nationalism and seek a new territory." Amusedly, he listened to the answer that the new party "would be only the Jews over again." But even in this favorable condition in Vienna he could make no headway among the Jews whom he sought to bring to his cause. Mostly they feared he was opening the ground beneath their feet.

In November he returned to Paris and met Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn and a few of the Rabbi's friends. The Grand Rabbin declared himself a Zionist, but he knew the French Jews would have none of the idea. They feared for their patriotism. Narcisse Leven definitely denied Jewish nationalism, and Herzl flung at

him, "Why did you sigh at Lueger's election? Why did I suffer when Captain Dreyfus was convicted for treason?" By sheer force he was being led into the arena of polemics.

Nevertheless, this Parisian trip was the real starting point for action. He had an intimate discussion with Max Nordau, "who I believe will go through thick and thin. He was the easiest to win, and hitherto the most worth-while winning." "Nordau is the second case of lightning-like understanding. The first was Benedict. But Nordau understood as a supporter, Benedict as an opponent." Yet Nordau, cautiously "believed it would take three hundred years to realize the idea." Herzl, the creator, held it would take only "thirty years." The enthusiast had the better vision.

Nordau opened the great door to Jewry by an introduction to Israel Zangwill. Herzl had not even heard of the author of the *Children of the Ghetto*.

"Visit to Israel Zangwill, the writer. Rode in fog through endless streets. . . . In the book draped study room Zangwill sat before an enormous worktable with his back to the chimney. Also, close by the fire, his brother, reading. They seemed frozen Southerners who had been exiled to the Ultima Thule. Israel Zangwill . . . gives the impression of the hard pride of honest victory achieved after great struggle. The disorder in his room, at his worktable, suggested that he is a man lit from within. I have read nothing of his, believe, however, that I know him. He must devote all the care, lacking in his appearance, to his style. Our conversation is wearying. We spoke French, which he does not sufficiently master. I do not know whether he understood me. Nevertheless, we agreed on principles. He is also for our territorial independence. He, however, accepts the racial point of view, which I cannot accept when I look at him and at myself. I only mean we are a historic

unity, a nation with anthropological differences. But that is sufficient for the Jewish State. No nation has racial unity."

So in November Herzl came to London, and into an atmosphere that, despite all the struggles that followed, always pleased him. The Maccabaeans, a group of Anglo-Jewish professional men who kept alive the intellectual phase of Jewish life by clever monthly dinners, were Herzl's first audience, and almost for a year thereafter he believed that in this group he had found the basis of his "Society of Jews."

But he had better warrant for his enthusiasm than the mild applause of the Maccabaeans. In his hurried visit to England he saw the banker, Samuel Montagu (knighted for his support of the Liberal cause and afterward Lord Swaythling), who wanted a greater Palestine "where he and all his family would settle." Mr. Montagu, curiously assisted in this by the Rev. Simeon Singer, had in 1892 developed his own Palestinian "programme of practical work" as the background of a financial appeal. He drew up a petition to the Sultan, asking for a "firman," itemizing sixteen clauses which included a "free grant of 250,000 acres of Crown Lands" east of the Jordan.¹ This was part of his greater Palestine, and he proposed that "delegates should proceed to Constantinople . . . supplied with the necessary credits . . . which will be as profitable to the finances of the Turkish Empire itself as it is hoped they will be advantageous to the Jews."

According to a contemporary report, the plan, which had the sympathetic support of William E. Gladstone, was blue-pencilled out of existence by Lord Rothschild.

¹See Appendix II.

Again Herzl did not know of this Zionist adventure when he met the welcoming banker, who enthusiastically wanted a greater Palestine, and who somewhat mysteriously yet definitely promised practical financial support.

Col. A. E. W. Goldsmid, soldier, avowed nationalist and prototype of "Daniel Deronda," yearning also for a greater Palestine, greeted him with "we will work for the emancipation of Israel," and "it is the idea of my life." Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler was courteous in discussion, while Simeon Singer, liberal Rabbi, was Herzl's temporary amanuensis and translator. Asher I. Myers, the publisher, immediately invited Herzl to publish his "foreword" to the *Jewish State* in the leading London Jewish weekly, the *Jewish Chronicle*.

Herzl returned to Vienna decidedly buoyant. But his own world was against him, and his employers used every possible weapon to prevent the threatened publication of the now completed brochure, *The Jewish State*. Undoubtedly this pressure lent Herzl strength and the issue developed almost to the breaking point, when on January 18 the cable flashed the news that the London *Jewish Chronicle* had not only the day before published an article entitled "A Solution of the Jewish Question," but had identified its author as a responsible journalist associated with the *Neue Freie Presse*. Nor did the most representative Jewish newspaper in the world introduce "one of the most astounding pronouncements which have ever been put forward" without careful consideration. Asher I. Myers had a lifetime of cautious representation of British Jewry behind him. He could by habit "let I should, wait upon I could," and while he held, week by week, the balance

between the small aggressive group of liberals and the large and imponderable group of orthodox Jews he did not hesitate to publish a new thought, though he privately advised men not to risk their positions by espousing it.

Whatever the motive, Herzl's idea had been flung to the public, and in a ponderous editorial the *Chronicle* said, "The present phase of Austrian anti-Semitism must be grave indeed if such heroic remedies suggest themselves as not only advisable but also as practicable." And what must have irritated the Viennese still more, "It is obvious that this proposal cannot be dismissed with a sneer." The "astounding pronouncement" fell rather flat in London, and the American Jewish press, which usually copied the *Chronicle's* news, entirely ignored the whole matter for many moons. It was also ignoring the presence of Ahlwardt, the German anti-Semite, who was endeavoring to make propaganda in America.

Vienna, however, seethed, and Dr. Lieben, the secretary of the official Jewish community, considerably reported that "he did not believe that the Herzl he knew had written it, as he knew him to be a sane man." Crazy, lunatic, mad, the attacks came fast and furious. But the "Jewish Jules Verne," as he was charitably described, hastened the publication of his pamphlet, and by February 14 the first five hundred copies of his precious *Jewish State* were delivered at his home.

"This evening my five hundred copies arrived. As the bundles were dragged into my room I experienced a serious reaction. These bundles of brochures symbolize the decision. My life probably will now undergo a change."

DER
JUDENSTAAT.

VERSUCH
EINER
MODERNEN LÖSUNG DER JUDENFRAGE

VON
THEODOR HERZL
DOCTOR DER RECHTE.



LEIPZIG und WIEN 1896.
M. BREITENSTEIN'S VERLAGS-BUCHHANDLUNG
WIEN, IX, WAHRINGERSTRASSE 5

Facsimile of cover of first German editions of "The Jewish State." Subsequently translated into all modern languages.

The London publicity had, however, been effective. Herzl received his first ovation from the Jewish students—"just as he had pictured it"—and the German pamphlet merely added to the bedlam that seethed around the first possible "Honorary anti-Semite." London had not immediately perceived the "danger" of the idea, which to the fearful Viennese was a highly explosive bomb that might shatter their position and perhaps send them to perdition. A battle royal thus began on the 14th of February, 1896.

II.

The two following months, March and April, were full of fume and fret for Herzl. Those whose approval he sought not only withheld it, but gave expression to their disappointment, disgust, annoyance, and fears in no measured terms. He was either insane or ludicrous, a dangerous person or a "Mahdi." The Viennese *Allgemeine Zeitung* regarded "Zionism as a wholly desperate lunacy," and in its humorous column mocked the author as the "Maccabee of Flight." The wit for which the Jewish writers of Vienna were known was poured out unstintedly upon Herzl, who in self-defense wrote in his diary, "I knew no one could be indifferent." He was, however, deeply pained by the pressure that was being exercised in Jewish circles to silence public discussion, as well as by the unwelcome cordiality with which the anti-Semitic press greeted his effort. He

¹One of the first and most interesting pamphlets in opposition to Herzl's *Jewish State* was a brochure, "Kein Judenstaat Sondern Gewissensfreiheit," which sold readily in Vienna and Berlin. Its author, Dr. Ludwig Ernst, contended (a) that it would be cowardly for the Jews to retreat from oppression; and that (b) anti-Semitism should be met by the establishment of a "humanitarian league," the Jews to lead in a movement for stamping out prejudice everywhere.

was of too sensitive a nature to enjoy the rough and tumble which he had provoked. All his instincts were anti-demagogic, so that he was not equipped to take advantage of the supporters that came to him, and press his immediate circle of opponents to a truce. The combative spirit was only aroused in him after many attacks had taught him to respect the value of aggression in public struggle. Calumny wounded him deeply.

"Yesterday I was told. . . .I published my brochure in order to obtain from Baron de Hirsch the post of general director of his colonization work . . . some one close to the Alliance Israelite started this lie. I would be well satisfied if some one would publish this calumny . . . then I could seize some blackguards by the ears. . . . But I shall have to wait a while because at present I am hushed in Vienna. The result of this 'silence' is that all Viennese circles are continuously and excitedly talking about my effort."

At root there was a deep contradiction in his mental make-up. He had, in his own language, invited "a general discussion on the Jewish Question," but he believed it was possible to maintain that discussion and avoid "the creation of an opposition party." In a simple way he decided "he who will not come with us, may remain. He who joins, is invited." His mind was on the action of exodus, not on the political advantage of verbal excitement. He disliked parties; the interne-cine strife common to all organizations was repellent to him. At his first contact with Jewish groups he displayed this sensitive, nervous attitude which he never successfully conquered. These reactions found utterance in his notes when, only a month after the publication of his brochure, his family physician diagnosed his ailment as heart trouble. "The doctor does

not understand that I devote myself to Jewish affairs; but then none of my Jewish associates understand this."

Another picture was, however, taking form. The students, a notable factor in Viennese life, were applauding him. They offered to organize a military corps, "a thousand of Masada," alluding to the last stand made against Titus in 73. In their first formal address they said:

"The call that you have issued, in your *Jewish State* to the Jewish people finds a powerful echo in the hearts of thousands of your brothers in race. As old as the exile is the yearning of our people for freedom. . . . You have had the courage to express these sentiments in clear and pregnant words."

This address was signed by Kadimah, Ivria, Libanonia, Hasmonala, Unitas, Gamalah and Humanitas, all Austrian Jewish student bodies attached to universities or high schools.¹ Their exaggerated excitement even led to an impasse. The non-Jewish students decided they would no longer give the Jews satisfaction on "the field of honor," and that decision blocked the road to the rank of officer in the Austrian army. But out of this hurly-burly came the first volunteers for the cause, the men who helped to form the nucleus of the organization which developed around Herzl. They had ideas about propaganda and about agitation, vocal and written. A publication was suggested and Herzl avidly took to the idea, which, however, was not realized until many months after.

While Chief Rabbi Adler was writing from London to his Viennese confrere that Herzl's ideas were both

¹Quoted by Davis Erdracht in *Theodor Herzl und der Judenstaat*.

"impracticable and dangerous"—words that became the slogan of the next decade—the London *Daily Chronicle* was giving prominence to the matter by publishing interviews with Holman Hunt, the venerable painter of Palestinean landscapes, who claimed priority for his earlier version of the Restoration, and to Samuel Montagu's more substantial suggestion that "the Sultan could be offered two million pounds for Palestine." Such concrete ideas were to Herzl's liking. He was equally pleased with Nordau's approval of the *Jewish State* as "a great deed, a revelation."

But a world was astir. From Semlin, in Hungary, came a letter: all the Jews there were ready to depart bag and baggage. "I have my reward," Herzl wrote to Gustave G. Cohen of Hamburg, "the poor of my people recognize me as their friend; from Russia, Galicia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary I receive jubilant encouragement." Dr. Bierer of Sofia, Bulgaria, reported that the local chief rabbi has hailed Herzl as a Messiah; the Jews there were being aroused to the importance of the cause. A month later they formally voted Herzl their leader. The Bulgarian Jews were the first to accept him and never hesitated to follow him.

The news of the publication of the *Jewish State* had even spread to Germany, and the general press was favorably impressed. The English edition was already in preparation in London. German Chovevi Zion circles knew of the proposed publication of the *Jewish State* some time before it actually was offered for sale. "W. Bambus informed me that a brochure under the title, *Jewish State*, was about to be published by a Dr. Juris in Vienna, Feuilleton editor of the *Neue Freie*

Presse, about whom nothing was known in Chovevi Zion circles. It was not even known whether he was an opponent or supporter of the idea."¹ When, however, the brochure reached Berlin there could be no doubt on the latter point, and the Jewish press bitterly assailed the book. In the *Allgemeine Israelitische Wochenschrift* Klausner "rends my book with the viciousness with which the theater hyenas tear down a premiere." Earnest German Zionists doubted Herzl, because he had ignored his predecessors. The venerable Rabbi Rulf of Memel particularly was amazed at this attitude. "Whether we can count the author of the recently published *Jewish State*, Dr. Theodor Herzl, among our friends is not yet clear to me. He marches as firmly self-conscious as though he were the first to present such thoughts and advice. And yet Dr. Pinsker in his *Auto-Emancipation* expressed the same ideas, and said them much better. . . . That's what happens among Jews. Everyone wants to be first."² Months after, Herzl for the first time heard of his forerunners, and confessed that had he known of them he might never have had the courage to write his own plan. David Wolffsohn, however, was deeply stirred. "I could not lay the brochure down until I had read it to the end . . . the intense visionary faith that leapt from every page opened up to me a new if long suspected world."

Within two months the Jewish world had been provoked to an excitement unknown to it for two centuries. An observer of Viennese Jewry, writing contemporaneously of conditions, noted, "In the Viennese student

¹*David Wolffsohn, A Memoir*, by Abraham Robinsohn. Dr. Max Bodenheimer of Cologne relates the same impression in his *Memoirs*, published in the *New York Jewish Morning Journal*, Sept. 1921.

²Rulf in *Zion*, Berlin, May, 1896.

clubs *The Jewish State* has provoked much excitement. There is animation and new activity. . . . Zionists speak frankly that they wish to quit the exile . . . and found their own state in Palestine. Graduates, important personages, assimilators, discuss earnestly and say freely what German Zionists only dare to think.¹

This applause left Herzl cold. His mind was elsewhere—he was thinking of direct accomplishment, and on April 21, three months after the first public announcement of his ideal, he penned these lines: “Hirsch dies, and I enter on negotiations with princes.”

III.

“In the beginning was the deed,” said Herzl to Freidrich, Grand Duke of Baden, the prince whose offer to receive him reached him on the day Baron de Hirsch died. He had delicately hinted at his Jewish interests in his discussions with the Austrian premier, Count Badeni; a rumor later reached him that one of the departmental chiefs of the Austrian home office was sympathetically studying the *Jewish State*; and he had pondered over the possibility of inducing the Papal Nuncio to open the door to the Pope. The creation of an approach to the Sultan had been vaguely suggested to him. But he held it in abeyance, for while he had already decided that Palestine was to be the Jewish State he felt its “sovereignty could be obtained—for bakshish.” He had the prevailing European attitude toward the “Sick Man.” He interpreted the international political situation in the terms prevailing in Vienna, the hot-bed of Balkan political intrigue, though Austria was wielding no power in Constantinople.

¹*David Wolffsohn, A Memoir*, by Abraham Robinsohn.

Germany was in the ascendant in Near Eastern politics; the "push to the East" was already quietly expressing itself in the attitude of Germany toward the general Turkish policy. Therefore, the successful road to the Sublime Porte was through the German Emperor, and, on the authority of current news, through the Czar. Moreover, Herzl also understood that the Jews "will believe in me, then they will follow me," once it was bruited abroad that he was negotiating with responsible authorities—Emperors, Kings, and Ministers. He had been spending his strength overcoming obstacles; he sought "aid to fulfil my task."

Moreover, the moment was opportune to solicit German support. The Jameson raid in the Transvaal had occasioned the first open breach between England and Germany, and incidentally had made a household word of "chartered company," Herzl's favorite description of the medium of organized development. Continental Europe was for the moment anti-British and pro-German. The situation in Turkey was wholly adverse to pressure from the liberal powers.

While Germany had pursued a policy of "hands off" in the negotiations with the Sultan over the annual crop of Armenian outrages, the Russian, French, and British ambassadors at Constantinople had "presented a note stating the reforms necessary in Armenia. . . . The Porte's reply was regarded as tantamount to a refusal to put the reforms in force." The situation was further aggravated by acts of violence in Armenia in August, and by a collision between Turkish police and Armenians in Constantinople in October. "The total number of killed and wounded during the outbreak was estimated at nearly one thousand. Finally, by the mid-

dle of October, the Sultan accepted the Armenian reform measures in an imperial irade." This decision meant little, as was evidenced by the "renewed massacres . . . reported from the Lebanon where, on Christmas Day, twelve thousand Druses were stated to have been killed."¹

The road to this "combination" was unexpectedly opened by the Rev. William H. Hechler, chaplain to the British ambassador in Vienna. A "sympathetic, kindly man, with long, grey prophetic beard," approached Herzl enthusiastically on March 14 and informed him that the publication of the *Jewish State* was a prophetic event which he had foretold. Hechler belonged to a group of religious zealots active in England, who believed in the imminent fulfilment of prophecy. 1896 was an important date to them. Herzl was moved neither by his mysticism nor his religious zeal. Hechler, indeed, struck him as naive and a "character." What he at once realized was that this ambassadorial chaplain, who had been tutor to the children of the Grand Duke of Baden, and knew the Kaiser, might be of service in his "combinations."

Hechler offered to induce both William II and the Grand Duke to receive him. A month later Hechler undertook to carry out his promise. The Kaiser was in Vienna, and Herzl went to the Opera Theatre to study the faces of two Emperors, the German and the Austrian, so that he might know the manner of the men he was to meet. But the German Emperor's stay in Vienna was too short; so Hechler set out for Carlsruhe, and after a few days summoned Herzl to his first audience with the Grand Duke of Baden. Hechler

¹A *History of the Nineteenth Century Year by Year*, by Edwin Emerson.

had done more than prevail upon the Prince to receive the Jewish dreamer. He had induced the Prince to discuss the matter with the Kaiser, who greeted Hechler with two questions about the Jewish State. One was in English. The Emperor asked, "Isn't Rothschild behind this?" For the time being the honest negative ended the imperial interest.

Palestine as a buffer state, was Herzl's answer to the question, what should happen when the oft discussed "carving up" of the Sultan's heritage actually took place. In the meantime the Jews could materially bolster up the financial and administrative resources of Turkey.

That these were needed the Grand Duke of Baden and the Jewish leader admitted almost in one breath. The suggested policy of re-enforcing Turkey was in accord with the prevailing German attitude. Herzl indeed spoke of the building of the "military road of the culture people" through the Orient, as one outcome of the Jewish effort, with the advantage that the road "would not be in possession of one people." Unconsciously he was in thorough agreement with the concept of Near Eastern policies advocated by two English generals, Kitchener and Wilson. The Prince, keeping close to current views of international politics, foresaw that the Palestinian buffer state, in Jewish hands, would be agreeable to England as a solution of the Egyptian question. For England then, as now, needed to protect the Suez Canal, her road to India.

The real subject matter of the interview was the development of contacts between Herzl and the men of power. The Prince had had his doubts, not of the idea, but of the wisdom of publicly associating himself

with a cause that might be interpreted as suggesting anti-Semitism on his part. His Jewish subjects he knew thoroughly. Besides he was cautious enough to advise Herzl that it would be more politic to found his Society of Jews, and on the strength of that seek the favor of the great. Herzl, with equal frankness, made clear that it would be easier to organize the Jews were it known that the cause had, at least, the moral support of powerful princes.

He won the Prince to this viewpoint by elaborating what was still his clearest understanding of the European result of his own policy, the diminution of radical propaganda in Europe, in proportion to the development of national effort among the Jews. In his earnestness he exaggerated the possible effect. "We weaken the revolutionary parties, and break the money power . . . these are no idle words, if we are aided." If wealthy Jews had ever understood the latent power in the first half of this argument they would perhaps have sacrificed much to prove it practical. Nor did he hesitate to discuss the anti-Semitic movement in Germany. But he was equally candid in countering the Prince's suggestion that one hundred thousand Jews should quietly settle in Palestine, and that then the issue should be raised. Herzl was against such secretive dubious methods. "The Jews would then be insurgents against the Sultan. I want everything to be open and above board; everything must be done legally." The prince was won. He closed the interview with, "I would it may happen. I believe it would be a blessing for many people."

The Grand Duke, who had placed the imperial crown on the head of William I at Versailles, admitted to Herzl

that he often counselled William II, "but he does as he pleases." The Emperor had that reputation among his Ministers. He listened, made his own decisions, and what was worse for his entourage "blew hot and cold" by turns. The Grand Duke had spoken sufficiently clearly to the Emperor to cause the latter to chaff Hechler, but he was not yet ready to open the door to an imperial audience.

As for the Czar, like most autocrats he ruled least, and in Jewish as in other policies followed what was held to be the current trend of Russian opinion and desire. The temporary barring of these two avenues did not disturb Herzl. "It was my first visit to a princely castle. I tried to avoid being impressed by the soldiers on guard. . . . I tried to divert my mind from becoming over-impressed, and so like a reporter began to take an inventory of the furniture. . . . And at the end of the day, 'The clear of evening peace, and the cloudless mood of Spring'."

He had won the esteem of a prince of high degree; he had found, as Hechler rightly told him in the ante-chamber, "princes are after all men"; and although mentally and physically strained by an interview that lasted more than two hours he noted that he could discuss his problem freely and frankly with the men of authority in the world. He had entered the audience chamber, "princes are after all men;" and although mitted. He had bestowed nervous care on every point, costume, gloves, bearing etc. And he found—it was the source of all his future strength—that he could meet kings and princes on terms of manhood, without a shadow of that "bent back" which Jews had always assumed as they entered the ante-chambers of the great.

IV.

Hechler spreading his great map of Palestine on his knees, on the railroad journey back to Vienna and teaching Herzl the geography of Palestine, heightened the spirit in which Herzl returned home. Events moved quickly and on Whit-Sunday, the day preceding the anniversary of his visit to Baron de Hirsch, from which date Herzl counted the beginning of his effort, he wrote in his diary a rare sentence of deep and complete satisfaction: "If in the next year I make proportionate progress to that which I made from zero to present achievement we shall be leshanah habah b'Jerusalim!" [next year in Jerusalem].

Secret and mysterious agents of the Sublime Porte and of other governments were scattered all over Europe; not a few were concentrated in Vienna where many Balkan intrigues were both hatched and addled. Two of these agents in turn approached Herzl, and led his fertile imagination into the mazes of Near Eastern politics. First came Dionys Rosenfeld, publisher of the Constantinople *Osmali Post*. He was the friend of Izzet Bey, then the favorite minister of the Sultan. Turkey, in his view, was in such dire straits for money that he could, through Izzet, induce the Sultan, at the end of May, to receive Herzl and discuss a dependent Palestine. Rosenfeld thought Palestine with the status of a Balkan principality would be easily obtained, but Herzl dismissed this suggestion—independence or nothing.

Rosenfeld made no such deep impression as did the mysterious Pole, Michael von Newlinski, who published in Vienna the shabby little political sheet *Correspond-*

ence de L'Est. Newlinski had at one time been a secretary in the Austrian Foreign office, later an official in the Austrian Embassy in Constantinople, and was afterwards known "as a friend of the Sultan." He wrote an interesting study on the Hapsburgs and the Poles.¹

"Secret Agent" had not then acquired the implications of the term as employed in romantic political novels. Perhaps it should be translated "unofficial agents." Olga Novikoff held that position on behalf of Russia for several decades in England, almost to the undoing of Gladstone. Arminius Vambery admitted that he was England's agent when all the world thought he represented Turkey. Our contemporary, Col. Lawrence, is the most romantic of a long line of England's unofficial agents. A vast army was let loose all over the world during the great war—not spies, but free lances whose acts could be repudiated if occasion demanded. In the nineties many of these men and women either ran little newspapers or made propaganda through journalistic affiliations. Diplomacy by indirection afforded scope for many efforts.² Hence Herzl's turning to the "half diplomatic" world was natural. It was the only road open to Turkish ears. Having no patriotic background, these agents were all political mercenaries; their probity was always open to question. Never wholly believing, never wholly distrusting, Herzl grew attached

¹M. de Newlinski, *La Pologne et les Habsburg*, Paris, 1880.

²The first British Governmental feeler towards Zionism was thus made in 1899. Mr. Arthur Balfour, playing golf one day, directed his fellow-player to discover the inside track of the movement. This aide was a friend of the editor of *Golfing*, who had business connection with Leopold J. Greenberg. Mr. Greenberg's answers proving satisfactory, by the same indirect method it was suggested that the Government would permit the organizer of the Primrose League to undertake the organization of Zionism in England. There were adequate reasons for not accepting this offer.

to Newlinski, this strange Slav who mingled piety, blackmail, and bribery, with outspoken contempt for the Sultan, and was moved, by some strange exalted faith in Herzl and the Jews to whom he did not belong. Perhaps there lingered in his peculiar mind the observation of a fellow intrigant: "Herzl reminded him of a great Jew of whom Renan had written." For some reason other than the pittance Herzl occasionally gave him, he tagged after the leader, and eventually died on a hurried trip in the service of the Zionist cause.

Newlinski had the culture and breeding of a Polish nobleman, and even his most spirited moods were tinged with melancholy. He was extremely resourceful and though, like all his class, his exact position was never clear, he was accepted in every chancellory of Europe as a responsible, if unofficial, agent of the Sultan.

On their first meeting Newlinski informed Herzl that he had not only read the *Jewish State* but had actually discussed it with the Sultan, who apparently had only one objection: he could not yield Jerusalem and the Mosque of Omar. Herzl repeated what he had suggested to the Grand Duke of Baden, when the Christian interest in the Holy City was mentioned: Jerusalem should be made an ex-territorium. Newlinski intensely practical and always thinking in terms of much needed cash, had however no interest in the creation of a "great condominium of culture." Anatolia might be more easily acquired. The Sultan, he slyly suggested, was not interested in money but he did most earnestly desire to divorce his Armenian subjects from the Armenian committees which, all over Europe, were agitating on their behalf. If Herzl, as an influential Jew, would aid him in getting these committees to declare a truce, then the Sultan

would freely grant his Armenian subjects the reforms he had most unwillingly yielded, on their behalf, to the powers. Such aid the Sultan would recognize and reward.

Here was a bridge that Herzl thought he could build overnight, almost single handed. He knew men who knew others whose final contact was with Armenian leaders. Fortune favored Herzl in these political affiliations. He not only bestirred himself to aid Newlinski but within a few weeks was leading the latter in his determination to discuss Palestine with the Sultan "face to face and frowning brow to brow."

Herzl may have been nerved to such a coup by a series of events which item by item seemed trivial, but in the mass left the feeling that he was sailing with the current. Gladstone, the great English liberal leader, wrote a favorable comment on the *Jewish State*, and the statesman's view could not be denied admission to the columns of the *Neue Freie Presse*, though in that paper the author's name remained unmentioned. A similar course was pursued when Tolstoi wrote in admiration of the idea.

Agliardi, the papal Nuncio, a smooth clerical diplomat, summoned Herzl to discuss the *Jewish State*. Herzl entered the Nuncio's house "looking around carefully, as one enters a house of ill repute . . . whoever saw me enter might easily have misunderstood." Coming away he concluded that Rome did not believe that the Jewish question could be solved by the establishment of a Jewish State, the creation of which, however, she feared.

In a few months he had made considerable headway. The Jewish problem was a real issue and rulers

so understood it; his "Jewish State" was a positive idea. In their secret archives governments were noting its development. What matter if Rothschild did not appreciate its importance. Governments, swayed by the impetuous idealist, would teach rich Jews to understand the wisdom of the idea.

Newlinski, whom Herzl provided with letters of introduction, returned from London downcast. England believed in the impending downfall of Turkey. No Premier would at this juncture venture to hold up the hands of the Sultan, who moreover was too pre-occupied with the Cretan problem to be able to think of Palestine. Herzl's idea, he added, had been scorned as fantastic in financial and journalistic circles. Whatever else Newlinski had done he had informed himself accurately as to the state of official Jewish opinion on the subject, and he was exceedingly sceptical as to Herzl's financial backing in an operation which would require perhaps twenty million pounds. Meanwhile, Herzl had, in two evenings, studied the intricacies of the Turkish Public Debt and worked out a solution which would suit his Jewish policy.

By threatening to go alone, Herzl practically forced Newlinski to agree that together they should proceed immediately to Constantinople, and so on June 15 he set out on his first visit to Constantinople. This was political adventure in earnest. En route Newlinski introduced Herzl to several important Turkish officials, who made it clear that an independent Palestine was in their judgment unthinkable. There were, however, compensations. At Zaribrod, Bulgaria, a deputation of Bulgarian Zionists met Herzl and accompanied him to Sofia where the station was packed with Jews, led by

Dr. Reuben Bierer. The crowd acclaimed him their leader. This was a unique incident at a Balkan railway station.

“A moving scene . . . a crowd of people who were waiting for me . . . Men, women, and children; Sephardim and Ashkenazim, boys, and old men with white beards. In front stood Dr. Reuben Bierer. A boy handed me a wreath of roses and knelt . . . in overmastering words I was lauded as the leader, the heart of Israel. I believe I was entirely abashed, and the passengers on the Orient Express were astonished at this strange scene.”

There was nothing passive about either Newlinski or Herzl during their stay in Constantinople, which began on June 17. “We drove through this astonishingly beautiful and filthy city. Blended sunshine, colorful poverty, fallen buildings. From the window of the Hotel Royal the vista is that of the Golden Horn.” Newlinski proved the reality of his contacts. For twelve days Herzl experienced the tortuous windings and circumlocutory methods of Turkish officialdom. In turn every important minister and secretary discussed his project with him, and, whether they agreed or disagreed with his plan, they were impressed by his personality. Now he experienced the full nervous strain his self-created task had put upon him. He gained an insight, at first hand, of the kind of political chess—a fantastic mixture of romance, corruption, and superstition guided many moves—that was played in Stamboul.

Here too he found that many refused to dissociate the Viennese journalist affiliated with an anti-Turkish Austrian Journal, from the Zionist who was seeking to build up a Jewish State, and who, without apparent financial support, proposed to deal with Turkish bond

holders, and create new and much needed sources of credit for the Turkish government. But the Sultan gave no audience; instead he sent Herzl, as a token of his interest and esteem, a promise of the ribbon and jewel of a commander's rank of the order of Medjidie.

The visit was however far from fruitless. Although Yildiz Kiosk was once again straining under the pressure of the Armenian problem—an excess in Van was the specific incident—Newlinski managed to raise the Palestinean issue with the Sultan, who twice sent messages to Herzl to defer his departure. What was actually brewing in the mind of the “sickly appearing” Sultan whom Herzl watched at the Selamlik, and who in turn stared at Herzl? He had told Newlinski: “The Turkish Empire is not mine, it belongs to the Turkish people. I can give nothing away. The Jews should save their money. When my empire is divided they may perhaps obtain Palestine for nothing. But first our corpses will have been cut up. I do not agree to a vivisection.” Herzl admired this fatalism but believed the declaration was far from final. Because the *Neue Freie Presse* had attacked him bitterly, the Sultan according to Newlinski, objected to receiving Herzl.

Next Newlinski swung back to the Armenian question. The Sultan had authorized him to say he would receive Herzl as a friend after he had influenced public opinion, and the Armenian committees, to change their tone. Finally the Sultan complained that Herzl's intermediary had submitted the idea in an unacceptable form. Palestine could not be sold. But an exchange might be considered. And the Sultan surprised even Newlinski by telling him that one of the great powers had endeavored to sound out his views on Herzl's project. Here

was astonishing and heartening news for Herzl to hear and act upon.

The Sultan continued to toy with the idea. Could not the Jews settle in some other province than Palestine? Cyprus and Salonica were suggested. Finally with the promise of the jewelled emblem of the order came the message, "The Sultan could not receive him this time because the plan had not remained a secret." Too many ministers knew of it, too many had reported on it, pro and con. As he would have to deny the request in the form submitted he would not then receive Herzl, but he added, "the Jews are shrewd; they will soon find an acceptable form."

As Herzl turned back to Vienna with Newlinski, planning en route his new "combinations," he reflected that he had gone a long way, in action, toward the achievement of an ideal which, but a short year before flashed suddenly in his brain, had become an absorbing theme, and then had mastered him. Well could he write, "I must have put something in motion when my plan, which so many regard as crazy, is already being opposed by the diplomacy of great powers . . ."

He could however enumerate his positive progress. The *Jewish State* had reached German Emperor, Papal Nuncio, the Grand Duke of Baden, and had been discussed with the suzerain of Palestine. Riper issues, handled by men with great authority, seldom sped forward so rapidly. The momentum of an individual given to swift action had carried matters far. If he knew how to "save appearances" for the Sultan, and if he could handle the wholly corrupt entourage that like an army occupied Yildiz Kiosk he might well, with one of his many financial and political improvisations, achieve

complete victory. Diplomatically there were no imponderables in Turkey.

"Herzl erred most . . . in misjudging distances." He overlooked at this juncture Jewish inertia and underestimated the financial obstacles. For organization he was looking to the London Maccabaeans; to raise money he had devised a formula which he believed should be acceptable to opponents and friends: "an autonomous" settlement should be created "for those Jews who cannot assimilate in their present environment." He was moving not only to an ideal end, but Vienna would be only a junction on the road to London where he would meet those who had encouraged him in January.

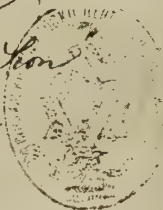
At Sofia his mental marching and counter-marching was interrupted by a delegation. Escorted through the streets by hundreds, he spoke in the synagogue. "I stood in front of the ark. When I hesitated, uncertain how to address the audience without turning my back to the Holy Ark a voice whispered: 'You may safely stand with your back to the Altar. You are holier than the Law!'"

Monsieur le Docteur,

Dans ce moment solennel où, dans la Macha
béefer, Vous ouvrirez votre bouche pour prononcer
les saintes paroles de votre apostolat qui sera la
pièce angulaire de l'édifice grandiose qui sera
construit, la société "Son" vous envoie sa bénédiction.
Que l'ombre majestueuse de nos aïeux Vous assiste.
Que les millions de cœurs juifs qui, des quatre points
du globe battent pour Vous, que les fils et les
filles d'Israël qui prononceront "Amen" à chacune
de vos paroles soient votre soutien.

Sofia
24. Tamuz 5656

Société "Son"
J. Eschwege



Nessim L. Arouetty
Melezer Dobb, azpoin

Rotansoy

Chaim D. Beracl

Kolarmen

V. V. V. V. V.

Isak U. Andarai

Caplan

Coron. 90. Enlutay

Moussé V. V. V. V. V.

V. V. V. V. V.

M. V. V. V. V. V.

Chapman

Eliezer V. V. V.

V. V. V. V. V.

Jacob V. V. V.

V. V. V. V. V.

Jacques V. V. V.

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CHAPTER V

A SEA OF TROUBLES

Back to London—Maccabaeian failure—Mass meeting success—Promises of financial support—Meets Baron Edmond de Rothschild—Intrigues in Constantinople against Herzl—Starts mass organization—Confers with Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria—William II's crippled arm—Called by Austrian premier.

NATHAN BIRNBAUM (Mathias Acher), who could legitimately claim to have been the first serious exponent of that form of Jewish Nationalism known as political Zionism, being asked in later years why he had changed his allegiance to Diaspora Nationalism, and Diaspora politics, answered: "As a Zionist I was always compelled to think in terms of millions which I did not possess and could not command. I have found an avenue in which money is of no importance."¹ Herzl always thought in great sums, and he was regarded as a visionary because he believed such sums could be raised. Only one nationalist doubted this, Max Nordau, whose discouragement in that direction often provoked Herzl's ire. Unquestionably Herzl was a visionary in the ease with which he saw his financial problems solved, but in

¹Statement to the author in Boston in 1911. Golum or Diaspora Nationalism first expressed itself as the attitude of those nationally self-conscious Jews who sought to influence the educational and communal systems prevailing in East European Jewries. In Galicia, where under the Austrian imperial rule the Poles grouped politically in "clubs," the Jews hesitantly followed and in 1911 created Jewish national groups determined to defend their political group rights in the Austrian empire. At the termination of the great war the idea spread all over Eastern Europe, and found expression in the Jewish national councils which agitated for political minority rights.

this attitude he was well seconded by other active political Zionists.

One effect of the long exile is that not only do Jews think in very dissimilar terms about all important factors of life, but never having had the opportunity of creating a real body of public opinion on Jewish affairs, the various groups do not readily comprehend each others' thought processes.¹ Were anti-Semitism an intelligent fear of a possible united international Jewish front, one could dispose of it by carefully articulated and fully documented evidence of the impossibility of a common Jewish mental process, the necessary basis for common action. But the anti-Semitic fear has this basis. It has so intensely drummed its own beliefs into many Jews that the latter acquire the habit of repeating the catch phrases of their enemies. Thus Herzl referred for a long time to the Jewish "money power" which never existed except in the imagination. Only hard knocks and individual contact brought him to appreciate the highly individualized and cautious local views of Jewish bankers. He came at length to understand that the rich Jews took a congregational, local, or a philanthropic view of all matters that concerned Jewish life. This attitude of well meant largesse and benevolence he detested. But it took years of struggle before he acknowledged that they were the last to appreciate, much less participate in a political policy, whether or not it required financial support.

While many political Zionists, having older and

¹Intellectually the Western Jews have never followed the Haskalah movement of Eastern Europe. Religiously the latter have never appreciated Mendelssohn's reform. Politically, the Russian Jews had to coax the Western Jews to approve the principle of minority rights. A score of similar differences could easily be cited.

closer Jewish contacts than their leader, never shared his views on the "money power" and its possibilities, they did believe that the overwhelming mass of the Jews would gladly sacrifice their resources for the creation of a Jewish State. They felt that even their opponents would aid in the accomplishment, once it was proved to be practicable. Holding themselves as the gallant vanguard of the nation, they willingly staked on what they believed would be the positive response. They conceded that men should call them dreamers, visionaries, and the like, and withhold support pending the proof of the tangible. For years this problem involved Herzl in a vicious circle: "Give me the money and I will obtain the charter; give me the charter and I will obtain the money."

His visit to Constantinople, bare of definite achievement, indicated to him—and all the rumors in Constantinople confirmed the idea that a "deal" was possible, though at a high cost in bribery. It was, therefore, in the mood of a negotiator between Jewish wealth and Turkish need that Herzl proceeded from Constantinople direct to London. He wanted the Jewish bankers, representing a syndicate to be created by themselves, to go with him to Constantinople. The moneyed men would make their profit on a normal financial transaction. Herzl's profit as negotiator was to be a charter for Palestine as part of the bond. The Maccabaeans to whom he had six months before promised to report would organize his "Society of Jews."

Therefore, without pausing even to meet the Grand Duke of Baden, whom through Hechler, he had informed that he was "rushed, being expected in London," Herzl hastened to the British capital. He was

bestriding the world in haste, improvising solution after solution of the financial phase of his Jewish scheme, while he was also knitting into a mental network the strands that would lead him to Armenian leaders. He was highly resourceful. He felt so strong that when crossing from Ostend to Dover he hoped "for bad weather to test my will power. . . . Everybody became sea sick. . . . I began to feel qualms. I do not know how my psychological experiment would have turned out had the voyage lasted another quarter of an hour."

This high mood was encouraged by the unusual publicity the London daily press was giving the new Jewish redeemer "The New Moses" in the phrase of one daily newspaper. The Maccabaeen dinner at which he was to make his semi-public debut was well "covered" in the "advance stories," and Herzl, though himself a journalist, was for several days misled by this purely journalistic success. In reality the Jews of London were not seriously prepared for the situation; and their anxiety to meet him was far from patent. Goldsmid, the militant Zionist, on whom Herzl leaned most, was at Cardiff on military duty, while Montagu, the erstwhile anxious yearning banker, "a splendid old man," coldly suggested a meeting during business hours at his office. Men did come to Herzl but most of these were disappointing. The philanthropist David Lionel Mocatta, who joined the leader of the extreme left wing of English Judaism, Claude G. Montefiore, at a conference, felt that "A Jewish State was neither possible nor desirable." Montefiore whose intellectual doubts were based on strongly held principles, committed himself no further than to admit that Herzl was inviting him to "a revolution of his hitherto accepted ideas."

Perhaps the last thought that occurred to Herzl at this juncture was that to rich Jews he was only the propagandist of a most doubtful idea. What perplexed him was that while he was acquainted with literary English, he had no familiarity with it as a spoken language. He had to make himself understood by men who could not converse easily in German or French, and he had to rehearse carefully the English translation of what he was to say to the Maccabaeans. Still in the high mood of the victor, he had prepared himself for an immediate and practical response. He made no impassioned plea for a cause, nor at their second meeting did he attempt to convince the audience composed of Anglo-Jewish intellectuals. He stated his fundamental views clearly and succinctly.¹

Although he had gained his knowledge of Parliamentary form by attending the sessions of the French Chamber of Deputies, his own manner of public utterance was quiet, impersonal, even a little distant—the cultivated detachment of an elder statesman speaking in council with his equals. The “kid glove applause” with which the Maccabaeans received him suited his attitude, and taking their interest and association for granted he reported on his progress in developing his plan for a Jewish State in Palestine. Veiling his diplomatic progress in rather general terms he stated his case for a Jewish State clearly, pressing his auditors to action because “a great cry of approval has come from all places where Jews suffer.”

Owing to his unfamiliarity with the spoken tongue Herzl did not at once realize that he was being politely and impersonally quizzed by an audience used to pay-

¹See Appendix III.

ing this form of compliment to any topic presented by an interesting personality. The Maccabaeans however had no mind for an adventure in statecraft, even in a consultative or investigating spirit. His sponsor, Israel Zangwill, thoroughly appreciative of the chill in the air, immediately sought shelter, observing that his sponsorship of the man did not involve him in approval of his ideas.

Joseph Jacobs, afterwards editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, indeed opposed the creation of a possible unimportant Jewish Bulgaria. Even the few officers of the Lovers of Zion present offered no encouragement. The one result of his Maccabean speech was the suggestion of an Anglo-Jewish pilgrimage to Palestine. Palestine was still so distant to that audience that an approving editorial writer inquired what was the best season to visit that far off land. In Germany, however, in a niche in the Berlin Products Exposition, Palestine was enjoying its first public recognition as a separate entity.

But in that gathering, watching every familiar face, intently analyzing each speech, studying the protagonist of an ideal, was a young journalist, himself a fervent nationalist, leader of a small group of ardent Jewish spirits. Slowly the audience melted, each in turn politely shaking hands with the guest. Almost the last to approach Herzl was this observer.

"You have been utterly defeated here; I know these people. But I will show you a way to victory, if you are willing to talk things over."

"At seven in the morning at the Hotel Albemarle," answered Herzl, his great, lambent eyes glowing as he shook hands.

Thus began the lifelong association of Theodor Herzl and the author.

And that next morning had its surprises. Herzl in a yellow silk dressing gown was writing, but quickly turned to his visitor, who found that the Nationalist leader he had long been looking for knew nothing of the background of the cause he was so boldly espousing. On condition that the "over there" of the "Jewish State" should thereafter read Palestine and nowhere else, the writer offered his service, and as a means of definite contact he accepted the office of "Honorary Secretary to Dr. Herzl." His field was to be all English speaking countries. And so it remained to the end.

This combination was the embryo of the modern Zionist Organization. Immediately, it was productive of much correspondence, many tasks, orders, instructions, directions, journeys, and an abiding unquestioned mutual confidence, loyalty, and friendship. Herzl asked much—he gave more. Oscar Marmorek thus characterized his own intimate association. "He gave his friends everything and required everything from them."

During the days following the Maccabaeen meeting Herzl flung himself into the task of retrieving the loss he had sustained by the unsympathetic and resourceless attitude of the Maccabaeans. While he consulted at odd hours with those who begged him to seek support among the masses, he still followed painfully every trail that might lead him to success with the rich and the powerful. He recognized that he had engaged on a "giant's task," which could yield only unthankfulness. But, "I am strong in myself. I do it only because I am forced from within."

Montagu, who had glibly talked to the press of

raising two million pounds, was distant and refused to assume responsibility. Herzl had offended his religious scruples by writing him a postcard dated on the Sabbath. This breach of orthodoxy rankled in the banker's mind for years. Other of Montagu's associates withdrew their reluctant support, and all advised Herzl to keep away from a contemplated mass meeting in East London, urging as a reason for their advice that owing to lack of adequate preparation it would be a failure.

The prime movers of that meeting, encountering opposition from the same quarters, were suffering from extreme nervous tension. The task of organizing the masses to accept Herzl was undertaken by the Bnai Zion Association of London which until within seventy-two hours of the public gathering found no recognized man who would accept the chairmanship of the meeting, and no hall available for the gathering. At this crisis the Chovevi Zion Association, of which Col. Goldsmid was chief and the Bnai Zion a constituent, suddenly showed its hand and started a fight which was not without its permanent effect on the course of Zionist affairs for many years thereafter. It peremptorily ordered its constituent to withdraw from all association in any effort to stir Jewry into accepting the author of the *Jewish State*. As this order was solemnly read at the meeting of the Bnai Zion, the session was immediately adjourned and after "a constructive intermission" the "Dr. Herzl East End Reception Committee" was called into existence and began to function.

Thus by the meeting of Whitechapel Jews held on July 13, at the Jewish Workingmen's Club, Herzl, who less than a year before sought only the good will and support of millionaires, was suddenly changed into the



Royal Pavilion Hotel,

Folkestone.

14. VII

1896

my dear honorary secretary,
begin your work, please, by
doing not what you should
do. I think it is better,
not to give these thanks
forth the community in the
papers. It would be of
bad taste, I believe. In
our country only comedians
publishes their thanks for a
good reception.

I beg you once more to
give my excuses to Res. Werner
whom I could no more meet

Please write me to Paris
Hotel Castille rue Cambon, if
you have fulfilled the negative
and the positive commission of
this letter.
Yours faithfully
Herzl

HERZL'S FIRST LETTER TO THE AUTHOR, ONE OF THE FEW
WRITTEN IN ENGLISH.

There had been some discussion of acknowledging the attitude of the
masses towards the new leader. This the letter negatives.

spear head of a phalanx rebelling against the existing Jewish communal organization, and as the leader of a never-ending struggle between Zionists and "Lovers of Zion." But all these phases were not apparent that hot Sunday afternoon when, despite the prophets of the status quo, the masses surged into the meeting hall, into which only a tithe of the sweltering crowd could gain admission. A vibrant group of young men here suddenly found an active worth-while cause by which it could color its own life. This memorable day set a world movement in motion. Youth recklessly ignored the attitude of an older generation trained to obedience and to looking either to the sky or to the Rothschilds for signs and portents as to the proper attitude toward Jewish affairs.

Moses Gaster, spiritual leader of the Sephardic community, was the only prominent Jew in London who had the courage to preside at the meeting which proclaimed Herzl leader of Jewry. Herzl was no orator for the masses and amid all that jubilation he permitted himself only one sentence that had the savour of triumph. He said the "East is ours"—meaning the East End of London and not the Orient. But his personality, his glowing eyes, his fine simple gestures, his open deprecating of himself and the natural touch of mystery with which he spoke of diplomatic affairs, won an audience keyed up by its youthful resourceful exuberant leaders to the point where they, not he, challenged all Jewry to follow. Doctor Gaster, a romantic victim of Roumanian anti-Semitism, in, but not of, Anglo-Jewry, possessed exactly that oratorical ability which could ably support that challenge. And it was carried with rapidity from mouth to mouth.

II.

The immediate result of his East End triumph was that Montagu was a little more willing to be of service, particularly in the Armenian matter. Yet Herzl's doubt of both Montagu and Goldsmid, who conditionally engaged themselves in his Palestinian effort, found immediate expression. "It should never be forgotten that both Montagu and Goldsmid declined to preside at the East End meeting." His new followers were still far from the breaking point with the Chovevi Zion and at their urgency Herzl was invited to attend the regular session of the Headquarters Tent. All the diplomacy was secret and the admission by Col. Goldsmid that Herzl had real political prospects inspired the Herzlists and gave them unofficial freedom in the campaign they were meditating. But he fell foul of the organization and of Baron Edmond de Rothschild whose support was necessary to hold both Montagu and Goldsmid in line.

Meeting the problem then facing the "Lovers of Zion" that their projected colonies were without legal safeguards, Herzl uttered what afterwards became one of his policies:

"I desire only that colonization which we can protect with our own Jewish forces. I oppose infiltration. The efforts of the Zion societies I will not disturb but Edmond de Rothschild's philanthropic support must come to an end. He must subserve the national purpose; then I will not only be ready to give him the highest office, but ensure him the leadership by stepping aside."

Herzl did not neglect the Armenian problem during his visit to London. He discussed it with men who had

some approach to government and the press, and he even made a faint attempt to reach the British Premier, Lord Salisbury. But his most direct contact was with an obscure Armenian leader, Nazarbek, who from a humble lodging was directing, so it was assumed, the struggling Armenians against their suzerain. Nazarbek was a cold blooded revolutionary patriot and Herzl tried hard to induce him to call a halt to the agitation which was annoying the Sultan. He attempted to effect a truce by promising to induce the Sultan, as an evidence of good will, to suspend the massacres and outrages in Armenia. This discussion was turned to some account when Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn, acting for Baron Edmond de Rothschild, complained to Max Nordau that new restrictions against immigration into Palestine were being enforced and that this was the Turkish official response to Herzl's Zionist agitation.

While he cabled to Zadoc Kahn that his "inquietude" was "unjustified," he cabled Newlinski that both his Palestinean and Armenian policies would be rendered impossible if the reports of the harsh treatment of the new settlers in Palestine were confirmed. His intervention met with almost immediate success. His exigent policy was providing good bases. His improvisations seemed to strike directly at problems that beneath the surface were worrying men responsible for world affairs.

Herzl moreover left London for Paris in high spirits because in his own judgment he had crossed his financial Rubicon. Montagu's original promise of co-operation had been "made between four eyes." Answering Nordau who could not understand how Constantinople officials had conferred with him, on financial matters

without asking, "who has the money?" Herzl said: "I have found the meeting point, that's all. I dared to rely on Montagu. That was my great risk. . . . The danger was that on my return Montagu could say he had merely indulged in smoking room gossip. Instead he kept his word. So I am well covered." He had indeed succeeded in obtaining the formal promise of the banker on three conditions, without realizing how difficult they were of accomplishment.

As he crossed the channel he pondered upon his rapid rise as a Jewish leader. The adulation of the East End masses was still in his ears. He had seen his own growth "as a legend," and as he listened to the acclaim of his wage-earning followers, "I vowed to become more and more worthy of their devotion and love." There was therefore something tangible in his offer to withdraw from the cause if others would undertake its direction. And it was this exchange that he offered Montagu, who on his side undertook to cooperate, provided (1) the Powers lent their support, (2) the Jewish Colonization Association would render available its funds, about \$50,000,000, and (3) one of the Rothschilds, Baron Edmond preferably, would join the committee.

In Paris, therefore, Herzl brought the possibility of this "combination" to the test. He entered upon this venture at a disadvantage. He distrusted Meyerson of the Havas Agence, and disliked Narcisse Leven of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, both intermediaries of the Baron—as the former had acted for Baron de Hirsch—and he was disturbed because Baron Edmond had refused to receive his colleague and friend, Max Nordau. For the first time in his varied negotiations

he guarded himself by giving Meyerson, for the Baron, a summary of what he would discuss.

The tone was less minatory than that which he used to the London Chovevi Zion, but it did not differ in purpose. He desired first of all to combine all pro-Palestinean organizations, including the Jewish Colonization Association, as well as Baron Edmond's personal organization. He would be satisfied if the Baron entered the new committee conditionally. As soon as the diplomatic phases of the undertaking were completed the men to be designated by Herzl would assume the direction of affairs. In the meantime, as a matter of honor, he would abstain from all effort at mass leadership. He did not desire a popular mass movement, though if the need arose he would create it, and the results might be unpleasant. If his program was accepted he would unequivocally withdraw from the leadership.

Whether this program was ever detailed to the Baron is a moot point. Herzl was endeavoring to bring methods of statecraft into a field where statecraft had never before been employed, and as we have seen he was not tender in his thoughts toward rich Jewish philanthropists who lacked decision, purpose, and understanding in their benevolence. On July 18, came the first real crisis, the turning point in his career, by way of his interview with Baron Edmond de Rothschild, in the Rue Laffitte where so many before him, and so many since have repaired for Jewish benevolence, and particularly for aid for Palestine.

Even a pause in the private reception room where Meyerson "reminded me that the Baron is a human being like ourselves . . . information that did not amaze

me," was unpleasant. The Baron impressed Herzl as a tall and handsome man in the forties. "I thought he was much older." From the start the interview went badly. "He had heard about me as of a Bernard the Hermit . . . and lost himself in the mazes of an opposition to my program with which he was not well acquainted." The Herzl who had been so patient with Turkish officials confessed his annoyance with the Baron's lack of sympathetic understanding. "After five minutes I broke in, and said 'you do not know what the issue is. Permit me to explain it,' and he began, "a colony is a little state, a state is a great colony. You desire a little state, I wish to create a great colony." He proceeded to recite at length that address to the Rothschilds which had been his first formulation of the *Jewish State*.

The Baron had no patience with Herzl's lecture on rapid results producible by modern methods. More pointedly he did not believe in Turkish assurances, and even if he were to accept such promises he would not undertake to support Herzl's project. He believed it was impossible to regulate the flow of the masses to Palestine. First of all 150,000 beggars would come, and these would have to be supported. The Baron's picture of the Jews as beggars stung Herzl to the quick—he never forgot nor forgave it. The Baron went on. He would assume no responsibility toward such an effort. Nor was he impressed with the adhesion of the Londoners. Montagu he could understand wanted to stand behind him. Goldsmid, in a letter just received, had warned him that Herzl's project was dangerous. This underhanded action on the part of Col. Goldsmid, who only a few nights before had publicly and privately

assured him of support, stupefied Herzl (the incident has never been explained). This, and the constant approval by Leven and Meyerson of all that the Baron said, added to Herzl's discomfiture.

The discussion had lasted two hours when Herzl brought it to an abrupt end. Turning to the Baron he said: "I recognize the power in an idea because one enlists in it if one says 'yes', but one also enlists if one says 'no.'" Ignoring the Baron's annoyance Herzl continued:

"You are the keystone to the combination. When you refuse to enter, all that I have erected falls. I will have to rebuild in another manner. I will start a great agitation in which it will be difficult to maintain order. I was willing to give you philanthropic Zionists the direction of the whole affair. You could—once the agreement with the Sultan has been completed—publish or conceal whatever you choose. The regulation of mass immigration is a matter of government . . . a mere detail . . . You think it is a misfortune to operate with such masses. Consider well, would it not be a greater misfortune if I set the masses in motion by a tumultuous agitation. That is what I wish to avoid. I have shown you my good will and have proved that I am no *intransigent entete*. You refuse—I have done my duty."

To Herzl the Baron was a fine kindly man, soft hearted, without appreciation of the problem, at this juncture probably regretting he had allowed himself to be interested in Jews and Palestine, a man who postponed decision just "as a coward postpones a necessary operation." Truly the "combination" had gone up into thin air, but Herzl was undismayed, and only momentarily crestfallen. He was not without hope that one day Baron Edmond would understand, and when half an hour after his fateful interview, Meyerson with a

sour face, came and begged him to start small, and prevent trouble for the Baron's Palestine settlements, Herzl listened attentively. When cabling the exact situation to Newlinski he was not unmindful of Meyerson's suggestion that by pursuing that policy the Baron might eventually be won over. He disposed of the interview with one final sentence in his diary: "And upon such men depends the fate of millions." Undismayed, he turned to his new combination.

But he had come to the parting of the ways. "I wrote to de Haas to begin the organization of the masses." This letter in German was brief and to the point.

"Interview with Edmond Rothschild. He regards the matter as impossible of accomplishment; even if we succeed diplomatically in everything. It was his view that it was useless to regulate the movement of the masses to Palestine. To this there is only one answer. Organize our masses at once, get them habituated to go or to stand at the word of command. As a means of agitation I suggest the seven golden starred flag."¹

Next he urged the creation of contacts with the United States.²

He returned to the Baron's criticism even more hotly a month later.

"Organize. Edmond Rothschild declared that he regarded Jewish emigration as impossible of accomplishment, even if we could obtain Palestine. He fears that 150,000 schnorrers would go who could not be profitably employed. He either did not read the *Jewish State* or did not understand it. We can only answer this with the organization of our masses. . . . This does not imply that we break with him.

¹Letter to the Author, Paris, July 20, 1896.

²Letter to the Author, Vienna, August 10, 1896.

Hôtel de Castille.
97, Rue Cambou.
Paris

Paris, le 20 Juli 1896

Adresse Télégraphique :
HOTEL CASTILLE - PARIS
Téléphone | Biji
Ascenseur

mein lieber de Haas!

Dank für Ihre Briefe.
mit Edmund Rothschild gesprochen.
Es hält die Sache für unmöglich.
führbar, selbst wenn wir
diplomatisch alles erreichen.
Denn es wäre nach seiner
Ansicht unmöglich, den Einfluss
der Massen nach Palästina
zu regeln. Darauf gibt es
mir eine Antwort: organisieren
wir schon jetzt unsere Massen,
gewöhnen wir sie schon jetzt
auf ein commandement zu
gehen oder zu bleiben
als Agitationsmittel empfehle
ich die Liebestundenfahrt
weisses Feld mit sieben goldenen

THE SIGNAL FOR ORGANIZATION.

Facsimile of the letter in which Herzl announced Baron "Edmond Rothschild....Regards the matter as impracticable, even if we succeed diplomatically in all our efforts."

Sternen. Bitten Sie Solomon
in meinem Namen, die
Fahne zu entwerfen
Grüssen Sie alle Freunde,
und nun vorwärts!

Zwischen 14 Juli u. 1 August
treffen mich Briefe in

Austria Aussa (Steresmark)
Villa Fürhs

Von da weiter Wien
Neue Freie Presse.

Mit Fräusgrüss

Ihr ergebener

Heryl

Ich reise heute ab

Probably we will come to some understanding with him, but we will make ourselves independent.”¹

He induced Nordau to organize a committee in Paris,² and addressed a meeting of Russo-Jewish students there. To these students he expressed his scorn of the rich and the hesitant. What had been doubtful a week before in London had become clear to him between the Rue Laffitte and the Rue Cambon, where he again resided temporarily. He accepted a challenge, in part of his own creation. He would win Palestine, if not through the aid of the few, then with the tumult of the masses. He closed this eventful visit to Paris with these ringing words to the students: “Je dis seulement: la jeunesse, debout!” (I say only: youth, stand up!)

III.

The admonition Herzl offered the students in Paris he applied immediately to himself. Meeting Newlinski in Carlsbad two days after his Paris address he took stock with him of their experiences, and the secret service agent rendered a half humorous verdict: “He knew not Herzl’s troops were so bad.” But he had worse to report: Jews were intriguing against Herzl in Constantinople, and the intrigant seemed to be Baron Rothschild’s representative in Palestine, Eli Scheid, who was cordially disliked by some of the settlers though he made many industrial experiments in their interest.

This “outrageous” conduct roused in Herzl a rancour hitherto foreign to his character and it compelled him to recognize the frail nature of the structure he had

¹Letter to Author, Aussee, August 27, 1896.

²Letter to Author, Paris, July 20, 1896.

so patiently erected. A single blow could topple it over, and for his pains there would be no thanks from the Jews, only, as someone had suggested to him, a modern crucifixion. But if he dropped the idea that seemed so noble and so useful to him, it would probably disappear never to be resuscitated. He was determined to go forward, to make "Jew, that term of reproach, a term of honor;" to create a new alignment in the world: "to the Jews peace, to Christians victory." There were dubious Sultan, doubtful Jews, political chicanery, unwilling financiers, silent co-journalists—a world against him; battle on every front and only a few loyal supporters scattered throughout Europe, unknown to each other, and without financial resources. But he stood unbent.

"To take arms against this sea of trouble" required a multiplicity of Herzls, a leader of the masses, a secretive diplomat, a punctilious correspondent, and in the shadow a journalist earning his livelihood by his daily task, so that he could say with truth that he was living for, not on, the cause. All these disparate personalities he ordered on their allotted tasks on July 22, and they served him untiringly to the end.

He saw his task clearly, to convert the Rothschild negation into the Kaiser's affirmation—so much for diplomacy; to turn his own threat, to Rothschild, of an aroused Jewry into an actuality—so much for his struggle against Jewish wealth. His first line of defense, the Jewish millionaires, had failed him. In his second line, the wealthy middle class, he had no great confidence, and he was soon to discover that they were open to the influence of private correspondence and whispers. Just as Col. Goldsmid had undone him by his letter to Baron

Edmond, so on his return to Vienna he was to learn that Chief Rabbi Adler had weakened David Guttman's doubtful support by telling him of Herzl's cool reception in London." "In my last letter I forgot to say to you that I was informed that the London Chief Rabbi Dr. Adler, has stated here, 'Dr. Herzl had a fiasco in London.'"

"In as far as this is only a cynical observation at my expense, it leaves me cold. I inform you, however, of the attitude of your Chief Rabbi, discuss it with intimate friends of the East End and show this in my name to Rev. Singer and Rev. Gaster." As to his third line, the masses, he knew he had no liking for "demagogic" methods, detested organization politics, and was fully conscious that his available supporters were too poor to build quickly a powerful aggressive organization.

Dismissing all these considerations as trivial compared to the end he sought, he sent out the first stream of letters, to London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Sofia which called into existence a new phenomenon in Jewish life. Within three months of the rejection of his idea by Baron Edmond—a rejection Herzl made known in every letter—there was in process an active struggle within the ranks of the "Lovers of Zion" organization in London, Vienna, and Berlin.

He had been recognized as "the great apostle of nationalism," a compliment by which it was sought to keep the practical Zionists aloof from his policies; to keep the religious Zionists separate from both, and to attach the "state" idea to Arabia, or anywhere else, except to Palestine. These fine distinctions were not clear to many; so it came about that the first formal American reac-

¹Letter to the Author, August 7, 1896.

tion to the turmoil brewing in European Jewry was an obscure proposal at a meeting of the Council of Jewish Women that it strengthen its position by adopting Herzl's program. The effort to organize in London along Herzl's lines was not weakened by a *Daily Chronicle* announcement that the purpose of Herzl's London visit had been to raise money in aid of the conversion of the Turkish debt. On the other hand, the political Zionist attack on the Chovevi Zion was withstood by the report made by Meyerson that Herzl had been refused aid by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and that the support of the Russian students was lukewarm. All these and many other details were reported to his chief by the author. There is much that is characteristic in Herzl's replies:

"Thanks for your excellent informative letter. I do not regard it as necessary to deny every incorrect report. Frequently it is necessary to accompany a denial with statements of fact and in that way one can spoil his diplomatic steps.

"Let the people say what they will. At the moment when there is news, true and important, I will use your facilities, my dear de Haas, to reach the public."

"Thanks for your detailed letter. To send someone to America now seems to me still too previous . . . and for the present we must satisfy ourselves with press agitation. Today I place at your disposal an item which you can use journalistically and at the same time employ to counter our opponents.

"I authorize you to publish the following in all newspapers: 'The Turkish Ambassador in Vienna declared to me—by word of mouth and in writing—that the report that the Turkish Government had decided to expel the Jewish Colonists from Palestine, or deport newly arriving immigrants is false and malevolently inspired. At the same time he authorized me to make use of this categorical declaration as soon as I thought it desirable.'

¹Letter dated Vienna, August 10, 1896.

"You can, of course, give this statement whatever journalistic form you prefer. It seems possible to frame several articles and news items based on this. The tenor of the article might be: With such means, malevolently inspired disturbing untruths, some people endeavor to struggle against the Jewish State. We urge our supporters to be on their guard, and our opponents should take care. All good Jews should test what we say or do and what our opponents put forth.

"Greet Mr. Prag with real warmth for me. Tell him it would be very painful to me, if I had to lose such a man as he is, after I had believed I had won him for the cause. For that reason I have not responded to his polemic in the *Jewish Chronicle*. I will not permit misunderstandings to arise between us and would therefore prefer to ignore what has transpired.

"Naturally you will tell him only that which relates to himself, and eventually the statement of the Turkish Ambassador. I expect soon your good reports on the organization of a propaganda committee."¹

Stalwarts arose; his supporters won, or were defeated, or temporized, or were proposing huge petitions as in Galicia; or whole communities as in Bulgaria were applauding him; conferences were being convened, provoking more conferences. A secret conference of all responsible Jewish leaders was meditated by Zadoc Kahn. Even Jerusalem responded on its own initiative. Wolffsohn, reminding him of Moses's attitude in the battle with the Amalekites, wrote encouragingly: "Keep your hands raised. Fight to the finish."

Nordau in Paris, Wolffsohn and Bodenheimer in Cologne, Bierer in Sofia, Schnirrer, Kellner, Kremenetsky, and Kokesch in Vienna, Landau in Lemberg, Ellman in Braila, de Haas in London—on these adjutants Herzl laid that new task, the provocation of a real issue, and the creation of a real public opinion in Jewish life. From his desk, carefully penning each letter, Herzl directed

¹Letter dated Vienna, August 18, 1896.

these men who called a multitude into action. A few others, the brothers Marmorek, Mandelstamm of Kiev, Friedemann of Berlin, and in 1898 Jacobus Kann of the Hague, Greenberg and Cowen of London, and later Zangwill—these men became his corps d'elite. He commanded, they obeyed. They fought for him and beside him on all fronts, and in all phases of the great struggle that was instigated in July 1896 in response to the Rothschild refusal to stand up and be counted for the cause. This self empressement, calling for much actual sacrifice from the vanguard, was at once a tribute to the fundamental note in Jewish life that Herzl had struck, and to the vital influence he exerted over his associates. Years later Alexander Marmorek created the watchword for this group: "Differences are permissible but loyalty is obligatory." This spirit moved them from the first; they labored ungrudgingly, tirelessly, and ever at the call of a chief who asked much, explained little, expected the impossible, and was grateful for such measure as was accomplished. The group he gathered about him was an index to his character.

The aggressiveness of Herzl's attitude was expressed in a letter to Zadoc Kahn whose conduct he appreciated though he was not certain whether the Grand Rabbin was for or against him: "The Jewish National movement is more serious than anti-Semitism. Hitherto the helpless Jews were the anvil, and the anti-Semites the hammer. Woe betide those who come between the anvil and hammer."

Meanwhile Herzl—the diplomat—was extremely active. In Carlsbad he met Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, at that time an imposing factor in Balkan politics. They met in the Laubganger, walking to and fro, under

the eyes of curious tourists, and discussed the Jewish problem. Herzl desired through the Prince to reach the Czar in order to influence the Sultan. Sydney Whittman, London Correspondent of the *New York Herald* who voluntarily appointed himself one of Herzl's political aides, and who could properly boast that by a single message he saved the Turkish Empire from dismemberment, had reported that Bismarck's verdict on the *Jewish State* was "melancholic reveries." But Newlinski was carrying to Stamboul Bismarck's advice to the Sultan to ignore England and lean on Russia, which only sought access to the Bosphorus for its volunteer fleet, and this information he gave Herzl. The Cretan situation was still pressing and this presented an opportunity to Herzl. Prince Ferdinand knew only one high personage at the Russian Court, Grand Duke Vladimir, who "discussed Jews as though they were human beings."

It was a frank and helpful interview. "The Prince waited behind a bush. . . . He offered me his hand and I immediately began to discuss Jewish matters." The Prince's response was cordial: "It is a great idea; no one has hitherto spoken to me about Jewish matters in that spirit. . . . I was brought up with Jews. I spent my youth with Baron de Hirsch. Therefore, I know conditions. I am, as has often been alleged, half a Jew."

In September Herzl's professional duties brought him to Breslau—where he addressed some students—and to Gorlitz, to report the visit of the German Emperor there. Herzl, who had hitherto been a stranger to gossip, began to interest himself in those "human

nature" touches which "exhibit the great of the earth from their petty sides. . . ."

"And this is necessary if one desires to have speech with them without being overwhelmed by their outward seeming grandeur. That is why I have observed the German Emperor, whom I have frequently seen during the past week, from the angle of his weakness. Is it not remarkable that it is not generally known that this man, one of the most imposing and much observed men in the world, has only one arm. Truly the world wanders in the clouds. . . . The masses see him daily and barely know it. The sharp-eyed say he has a stiff arm. In reality, as undeveloped as a child's, the arm hangs from the left shoulder. . . . This abnormality is important for a rounded out picture of the man. It makes him more human.

"It is clear that beneath all his many regimental uniforms he is a helpless creature. When I looked upon the pictures of the man in his power, the splendor of his court, or of the military glitter of his legions on the parade ground, I took note of that crippled arm. So in the event that I meet him face to face I shall not be confused by his greatness. This deformity explains his whole character. This super war-lord would have been rejected by the first recruiting office if he had had to enlist as a humble private. That perhaps explains his passion for all things military. He must restrain his natural motions, for he must always think of concealing his deformity. He fools many by the way he holds the reins with his left arm when he rides horse back. He likes brilliant uniforms, and gleaming helmets that distract the eyes of beholders. But he appears to me to be a sympathetic human being, better and briefer—a human being. He seeks to impress the mass, and he plays the Emperor powerfully. To those to whom he permits intimacy he is likeable. He has the friendly handshake of a partisan leader. When he speaks he approaches his auditor closely and looks him straight in the eyes. . . . There was a nuance of exaggeration in his merriment. . . . he has a touch of exaggeration. Unquestionably he is a many-sided, gifted man, who wishes to grapple with too much for one arm; and

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Kolowratring, Fichtegasse Nr. 11.

mein lieber de Haas!

Dank für Ihren ausführlichen Brief.
 die amerikanische agitation persönlich
 zu betreiben, schiene mir noch
 verfrüht. Ich nehme jedenfalls Ihren
 Antrag, hinüberzu-reisen, dankend
 zur Kenntnis und wenn die Gelegen-
 heit kommt, wenn insbesondere
 die Agitationsmittel vorhanden
 sein werden, wollen wir darauf
 zurückkommen.

Vorläufig müssen wir uns mit der
 Pressagitatsau begnügen. Ich stelle
 Ihnen heute etwas zur Verfügung;
 was Sie journalistisch ver-
 werthen u. zugleich zur Widerlegung
 der Ausstellungen unserer
 Gegner verwenden können.

Ich ersucht Sie folgendes
 in allen Blättern zu ~~veröffentlichen~~
 publiciren:

~~Wiederholungen~~
 der türkische Botschafter in

DENIAL OF EXPULSION OF PALESTINEAN COLONISTS.

"The Turkish Ambassador in Vienna declared to me by word of mouth
 and in writing....

sien hat mir erklärt — mündlich und schriftlich — dass die Nachricht, die türkische Regierung hätte ~~gestattet~~ beschlossen die jüdischen Colonisten aus Palästina auszuweisen oder neuankommende zurückzuweisen, falsch und ^{böswillig} erlogen sei.

Zugleich gestattete er mir, von dieser ausdrücklichen Erklärung Gebrauch zu machen, sobald ich es für angemessen erachte.

Sie können natürlich dieser Mittheilung die journalistische Form geben, die Ihnen beliebt. Es wird

sich vielleicht empfehlen,
von dieser Thatsache ausgehend
einige Artikel i. V. Katzen
zu verschicken. Der Tenor
der Artikel wäre: mit
solchen Mitteln, wie es
böswillig erfundene beun-
ruhigende Gerüchte sind,
versuchen es gewisse Leute
gegen den Jüdenstaat zu
kämpfen. Es ergeht der
Ruf an unsere Anhänger,
wachsamer zu sein, und unsere
Gegner mögen sich in Acht
nehmen. Alle guten Jüden
aber sollen selbst prüfen,
was wir sagen i. Thun-
und was unsere Gegner
aufbieten!

Grüssen Sie Mr. Prag recht
herzlich von mir. Sagen
Sie ihm, es wäre mir
sehr schmerzlich gewesen,
wenn ich einen Mann wie
er es ist hätte verlieren

müssen, nachdem ich schon
glaubte ihn für die Sache
gewonnen zu haben. Ich
habe darum auf seine polemische
Bemerkung in Jewish Chronicle
nicht geantwortet, weil ich
zwischen uns keine Missver-
ständnisse aufkommen lassen,
sondern lieber die vorhandenen
beseitigen will.

Natürlich werden Sie ihm
aus diesem vertraulichen
Briefe nur das ihn betreffende
n. eventuell die Erklärung
des türkischen Botschafters
mittheilen.

Ich erwarte bald Ihre
guten Nachrichten über
die Bildung des Agitations-
comité's.

Mit freundlichen
Grüßen

Henzl

because he wishes to conceal his defect he puts that one hand into everything."¹

Herzl had barely settled to his routine tasks in Vienna, before he was again approached to found a government organ for the Premier Count Badeni. His troubles in the office of the *Neue Freie Presse* were more acute than ever. The proprietors ordered editorial attacks on Turkey in order to disprove the current gossip that Herzl had in Constantinople solicited a subsidy for them, and in domestic affairs they were sorely beset in their efforts to maintain a non-Jewish attitude while Vienna was raging with anti-Semitism and Galician Jewry hungering through oppression.

Lueger, encouraged by his municipal victory in Vienna, aspired to capture the Imperial Diet for the anti-Semites, and the Burgomaster did not hesitate to convene meetings and pass resolutions to boycott all Jewish merchants. The confiscation of all Jewish property in Austria was urged. As Lueger put it: "We will not rest by merely breaking down their pride, but we will push them [the Jews] away altogether." Such attacks forced the Jews to seek the support of the social Democrats, and opened for Herzl endless opportunities to discuss the Jewish Question with Bacher and Benedict.

Once again Herzl saw a way to freedom for his pen. But his conditions—he would accept no financial aid from the government in founding the journal, only an exchange of political support, government backing for Zionism, newspaper support for the government—prevented the furtherance of the project. Yet so real to him was his need for newspaper support that at one moment he bought a large holding in a local newspaper,

¹Theodor Herzl, *Tagebucher*, Vol. 1, pp. 531-2.

and then resold the stock. Mere contact with a stock exchange transaction disturbed him.

He was in a curious impasse. Willing to risk his family's resources for the cause, he was deeply beset by the need of funds—"a million gulden" would set all the wheels in motion—and yet he was selective as to the Jewish financial support he would accept for his newspaper enterprise. At the same time, by a single address delivered before the Viennese Jewish Union, he was able, thanks to his lieutenants who obtained publicity for his views, seriously to disturb those Jewish bankers who were involved in a Franco-Russian arrangement, and were proposing to aid Turkey without thought of the suffering Jews.

King Milan, another Balkan monarch, approved to Newlinski, Herzl's policy, but believed France would oppose it because she desired a protectorate over Syria, and the establishment of an independent Arabian kingdom, insight justified twenty-three years later. At this moment a new outbreak in Constantinople threatened to destroy the Turkish empire, and the powers were again seriously discussing the deposition of Abdul Hamid. "This Sultan is friendly to us. . . . As to his successors?"¹ During this crisis Izzet Bey wrote to Newlinski that financially his master "had the knife at his throat," and that if Herzl meant business and would modify his conditions, he would induce the Sultan to come to terms. Nothing loath, Herzl drew up a plan for an autonomous Palestinean State, with Jewish police power, and all other necessary elements of self-government, to be approved by the powers, but retaining Palestine as a vassal of the Turkish empire. The

¹Letter to the Author from Vienna, September 12, 1896.

acceptance of such a project he believed would enable Turkey to borrow \$100,000,000, pledging the annual tribute of Palestine which, beginning at \$500,000, would be increased annually on the basis of an increasing but regulated Jewish immigration.

To the author Herzl wrote:

"I had a long confidential talk with the Turkish ambassador. The financial condition of Turkey is such that it can only be cured with Jewish money. I hope to succeed in having the Sultan invite a delegation of Jews to come to Constantinople and make a proposition to him for emigration of Jews to Palestine. As members of such a delegation, I am thinking of Montagu, Col. Goldsmid, perhaps Zadoc Kahn, and myself."

A few days later he urged, "Sound Sir Samuel Montagu as to the position he will take if the Sultan, through me, invites a delegation of Jews to make verbal propositions to him in Constantinople.

A few days later he invited Sir Samuel Montagu to agree to proceed with him to Constantinople and carry through these negotiations: "I know it is a sacrifice for you to undertake this trip, but if you bring this sacrifice as long as Jews exist the name of Sir Samuel Montagu will be praised." He wrote more guardedly, but no less insistently, to Zadoc Kahn, who believed that the Jewish Colonization Association might consider his Palestinean plans at its October meeting.

The I. C. A.'s¹ willingness to discuss Palestine was perhaps due to the return of immigrants from the Argentine. The pause in Zadoc Kahn's action may have been influenced by the Czar's presence in Paris. The Russian monarch was on his famous engagement tour

¹Abbreviation for Jewish Colonization Association.

to the French and English capitals, and only in the latter did the press venture to remind him that the persecutions of the Jews were not to be ignored. English Jews had the courage to expose the skeleton in the Russian closet, but their representatives on the Hirsch Trust were aghast at the audacity of Herzl's proposals.

The situation in Constantinople, however, permitted of no such forward movement. Yet Newlinski must have persuaded him again in December that something was possible in Constantinople, for in a letter marked "everything very confidential" he suggested he would aid the I. C. A. to obtain a firman for certain Palestinian lands if they would pay their way.

"This is unusually delicate. There must be no go-betweens. In particular I will not, and may not, come in contact with such a financial transaction. They can send to Constantinople a confidential agent who they must be certain will let none of this unaccountable cash slip into his own pocket. When he has arrived there, I will let him know, by letter, the names of those to whom he should give the money. Then what is desired will be carried out in a few days."

He was, however, more concerned over the re-arrangement of the Turkish finances than in prospect. "I fear that through the contemptible indifference of our great financiers we have missed a favorable opportunity that will not readily occur again."¹

Between July and December his organization had begun to take form; even Russia was heard from, Galicia was organizing, Viennese students were applauding him. "I receive visitors from all parts. The road from Palestine to Paris begins to go through my room." He received everyone and "I write many letters, for

¹Letter dated Paris, December 15, 1896

I answer everyone." He saw little progress ahead, the golden opportunity seemed in the immediate past when Izzet Bey was the Sultan's favorite.

He felt weary; a burden rested heavily on his shoulders; yet when Benedict of the *Neue Freie Presse* refused to follow his jesting advice to write as a Christmas article "The Solution of the Jewish Question Through Palestinean Colonization," because Herzl had complicated that issue with Jewish nationalism, Herzl responded: "Good, you will not write that article now, you will probably write it for next Christmas. We can wait." Thus ended 1896.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEADER EVOLVES

Anti-Semitism in Austria—Turko-Greek War—Zionist Medical Corps aids Turks—Discusses with Wolfsohn Russo Jewish Attitudes—Issues call to Congress—William II's opposition develops quickly—The Protest Rabbis—Difficulties with "Lovers of Zion"—The effect of a Milwaukee (Wis.) *Sentinel* news item—Founding of *Die Welt*.

HERZL started the new year in an excellent mood, and in a letter to the author not only drew a picture of his daily task but outlined for himself and others a fairly comprehensive year's work

"Just as you labor—for your consolation be it said—so do I and many others. From my study room in Berggasse No. 6, there run already threads all over the world. Men from all lands visit me and request instructions. Our agitation is intensely active even though but little visible. When I issue a call for agitation funds, unquestionably much money will flow in; but that I dare not, and will not do for reasons known to you. It will come of itself, or at least without my personal intervention. . . .

"I am thinking of convening a general Zionist conference in Switzerland this summer. At the right time I will send you details. But you might anyhow write a short article on this for the next issue of the *Jewish World*."¹

Half a dozen other commissions followed, including a suggestion as to the organization of girls' and women's societies: "My proposal is that these women's organizations use the means commonly employed in

¹The article suggested appeared on January 15, 1897. (See Appendix No. IV).

benevolent societies, dances, concerts, bazaars, etc., but instead of working for little things, for the big thing. Here you have again a fistful of duties."

Yet with all this constant devotion to detail, and the personal abuse of which he complained, he was thinking in large terms. A suggestion that "Herzлизм" was to be the subject of a debate in London brought from him a quick and strong rebuke.

"Let us guard ourselves from turning the national movement into a personal one. Nothing could hurt us more, nothing, from my point of view, could be more undesirable. The movement must be and should remain impersonal. That is a fundamental principle from which we should not be swayed. Raising one individual on our shield would be forging a weapon for the hands of our enemies. We must think of the future. The movement must not rest on two eyes, the idea must not die with me."¹

Herzl was impatient to reach his goal. He understood Prince Friedrich Wrede's views of anti-Semitism. "We need the Jews. There must always be dissatisfaction. Did it not spend itself on the Jews there would be revolution." But he could not follow his fellow Jews in their attitude toward the problem. Jewish troubles were daily coming to his door.

The legend of his power was growing and even official Viennese Jewry was inviting him to discuss the menace of anti-Semitism which was bulking larger and larger as the Austrian Reichsrat elections were coming closer. Pleas for a little settlement in Trans-Jordania, a Rothschild project for a proposed colony in Smyrna, for counter pressure to the Galician boycott, reached him, mixed with a report of the possibility of the United

¹Letter dated January 12, 1897.

States Senate restricting Jewish immigration with a "literacy test" law. Many of these details were new and exciting experiences to him. Such incidents he thought should arouse others beside himself to demand action. Immersed in his own reactions to events, he did not realize that "the inadequacy of anti-Semitism as a bulwark of Judaism" had already been proved by the failure of French Jewry to receive "a single quickening impulse" from the Dreyfus affair, and that in time the Russian pogroms "become a mere memory even among the Russian Jews themselves."¹

The aptitude of the individual Jew to go on his own way, molding himself day by day to circumstances, was a thought wholly foreign to him. The swaying to and fro of Austrian Jewry under the lash of anti-Semitism; their seeking the support of the Social Democrats, whose existence they had for twenty-five years ignored, impressed him as demanding only one answer, and inspired him with one fear, that acknowledgment of the right policy might come too late. For a moment, when men came imploring him for moral support in the Reichsrat campaign, he thought of forcing the issue by running one of his associates as a "Zionist candidate." But this policy he found impracticable because three Galician electoral districts, Kolomea, Drohobycz, and Stanislau, demanded that he accept the "safe seats" offered him. He unhesitatingly refused this road to public acknowledgment and influence and no pressure could induce him to swerve from this decision. In daily disputes with the editors of the *Neue Freie Presse*, he frequently alluded to his attitude on Austrian policies as evidence of his desire for an impersonal success.

¹Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*.

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Mein lieber de Haas!

Dank für Ihren vortrefflich
informirenden Brief. Ich halte
es nicht für nothwendig,
jede einzelne unrichtige Nachricht
zu dementiren. Oft müsste
man mit dem Dementi zugleich
andere thatsächliche Angaben
machen, und dabei könnte
man sich seine diplomatischen
Schnitte verderben.

Lassen Sie die Leute reden,
was sie wollen. In dem
Augenblick wo es Heldungen
gibt, die wahr u. wichtig sind,
werde ich nicht Ihrer, mein
lieber de Haas, bedienen um
das englische Publikum zu
verständigen.

Ich möchte mit unserem Gesin-

SEEKS CONTACTS WITH U. S. A.

"I would like to come into contact with our coreligionists in America.
What course do you propose?"

All Vienna and Lower Austria were carried by the anti-Semites, and Lueger, who had a municipal campaign ahead of him, proposed to force all the Jewish teachers out of the public schools. Count Badeni was in a minority in the Reichsrat and, as Herzl foresaw, tendered his resignation. But when the Emperor refused to permit his retirement and thus checked the advance of the Clericals to power, the Jews felt comforted, though it was obvious that Badeni, to rule, would have to placate the Clerical anti-Semitic majority. Election riots between Jews and non-Jews occurred during the municipal elections in Vienna, when Lueger was for the fifth time elected Burgomaster, and the official Jewish "Union" of Vienna urged Herzl to join in a protest. But, as he foresaw, after much pleading for real action, apart from talk the Jewish leaders would adopt a policy "as idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean." By his refusal, however, he prevented the customary method of protest being invoked.

The Zionist movement was growing despite Herzl's secret worry over the possibility of Turkey accepting the Franco-Russian plan for filling its treasury with four million pounds. This "hung like a cloud over Zionism" until he realized, from Newlinski's report, that such a loan would be soon spent, leaving the Turks even more embarrassed, and more angry with the Powers, when they realized that the diplomatic reasons for offering the loan would be the suspension of the Armenian and Cretan persecutions. This did not prevent him writing the author, "Our organization meanders slowly," and suggesting that steps be taken to win the South African diamond mine millionaire, Barney Barnato, then quite a figure in London, for the cause; mere-

ly another possible great monetary resource, which he felt he might need immediately. "If he can be won for the cause I will go with him to Constantinople and in a few weeks we can bring to conclusion a great piece of world history."¹ He returned to the charge a few days later:

"Turkey is in a bad way. Alas, the 'upper Jews' are miserable scamps, otherwise we could employ the situation splendidly. Never, listen well, de Haas, never was our chance to obtain Palestine so favorable as now. It is enough to make one desperate. The Turks are mellow; they can be spoken to. The Powers confront an insoluble difficulty—and we can solve it—and with that solution we could rid the world of the old Jewish question. If we could win Barnato we would be born. The old millionaires are too cowardly, too satisfied, too abject. Perhaps among the new millionaires, the South Africans, we can find material to our purpose. . . . What says Gaster?"

His prestige in Constantinople at this juncture was increased through the absurd rumor, accepted by Turkish officialdom, that the animus of the European press to Turkey had been inspired by Herzl as a punishment for the Sultan's failure to cede Palestine to the Jews. He was constantly courted by the Turkish ambassador in Vienna, who delivered the jewelled order the Sultan had promised, and the ambassador, and others of the "diplomatic half world," kept in close touch with him.

These flatteries left him unmoved. He was far more impressed by the advancing popularity of Zionism, even in Vienna, where successful mass meetings were being held without his presence. Eight East European Jewish nationalists had met in Vienna in 1893 and unsuccessfully planned to hold a world congress in

¹Letter of February 8, 1897.

Berlin in 1894. Seven of these men rallied to Herzl's side, and it was their co-operation that led the student groups to acclaim Herzl's leadership. He even noted a change in the attitude of Bacher, who said, "You will win all our men as soon as you achieve. We yield to achievement." Benedict, walking arm-in-arm with him from the office, told him a long story, showing that at heart every Jew was a nationalist, and both of the proprietors of the *Neue Freie Presse*, who had heard of the English "pilgrimage to Palestine," organized by Mr. Herbert Bentwich—the outcome of Herzl's July visit to London—expressed a willingness to join their collaborateur in a trip to Palestine. The world did move—but slowly.

The Armenian massacres, which in August, 1896, had neutralized all of Herzl's plans for Jewish co-operation in his Turkish negotiations, spread to Crete, where Christian and Mussulman fought each other bitterly. As a result, Crete obtained a recognition of its claims to autonomy from the Porte. The Greeks in the island were, however, determined upon complete secession, and by February, 1897, the Greek government, to support its Cretan nationals, commissioned all its torpedo vessels. The Near East was, therefore, again a tinder-box and the allied powers, whose policy was once more pro-Turkish, were endeavoring to hold a balance between Cretans aided by Greeks and Turks, who unwillingly admitted that a precious jewel had been snatched from the Turkish crown. These were too "troubled waters" for "good fishing," even by so venturesome and imaginative an angler as Herzl. However, when the Greeks moved their troops to the Turkish frontier and thus afforded the Turks an opportu-

ity to declare war, an occasion for quick decision and rapid action was presented to Herzl.

Medical student Isaac A. Shalit, one of his aides, suggested the formation of a medical unit in support of the Red Crescent. Overnight a group of doctors was organized and despatched to aid the Turkish wounded—the first Zionist medical corps. A fund was started. The war was over before the doctors arrived; but the action was decisive, direct, independent and did not go unnoticed in Constantinople. And the Zionists were on the side of the victors. Palestine was still intact, and to Herzl “the greatest political movement of our times was the construction of a northern railroad to Asia. A glance at the map informs us that this new road will and must lead through Palestine.” But such visions were afar off, and though, as one of his critics put it, he was attracting people “like another Pied Piper,” he could gain no consideration for those long range political and economic questions which were closest to his mind.

II.

His threat to Rothschild of a world-wide agitation had not been an idle one, and the action necessary to make it effective had wrought a considerable change in him. At their first meeting in the spring of 1896, he declared to David Wolffsohn that he could not understand wherein the possibility of creating the Jewish State “should depend a good deal upon the attitude of the Russian Jews.” In Herzl’s opinion it was natural that one should think first of the masses in Russia and Galicia—when the object should be achieved. But why think of the East Europeans at the moment, when the

problem was to create the possibility.¹ Wolffsohn, who was of Russo-Jewish birth but who looked like a typical Rhinelander, and was a merchant in Cologne, explained that the source of pro-Palestinean sentiment was in Russo-Poland. Early in 1897 Herzl no longer stood in need of that counsel. His mail was being bombarded by Zionists who seemed to spring up on every hand. His bravery encouraged others to pamphleteer on the general problem or to provoke struggle in the ranks of the "Lovers of Zion." The countervailing theory of "the Jewish Mission" was being preached from Jewish pulpits, and an attempt was being made, as yet vaguely, to differentiate between Zionist and Jewish nationalist.

In February leaders of small groups in London, Berlin, Cologne, Lemberg, Tarnow, came of their own volition to Vienna, while Palestineans and Oriental Jews were sending of their own accord reports, plans, and suggestions. Herzl was getting a new understanding of Palestine, of the inwardness of Jewish life there, of the dissatisfaction with the Rothschild administration of the agricultural settlements, and of the nature of that charity problem termed Chaluka, which has perplexed several generations. Besides, he needed money for publications, organization, and for his financial arrangements with Turkey. The local leaders pressed for organization. As one of them subsequently put it formally: "All believers in Zionism must organize themselves, formulate common principles, discuss their propaganda and the possibility of its realization."² They needed to know one another.

¹*David Wolffsohn, A Memoir*, by Abraham Robinsohn.

²Adolf Stand of Lemberg in *Jewish Chronicle*, April 30, 1897.

Herzl, at a private meeting with representatives of the "Lovers of Zion" movement, formally propounded his answer, a national Zionist Congress. An attack followed instantly the news that such a gathering was being meditated. "There is already intrigue against the congress. You know me well, and understand that will not help. The congress must be a great success, even if all the cowards and scoundrels stand on their heads."¹ The enthusiasts responded with vim, and obtained his agreement for a session in August in Munich in the hotel where in August, 1895, he had first discussed the problem with Rabbi Gudemann and Dr. Meyer Cohn. So, on March 16, there was issued the first call "for the holding of a representative Zionist Congress at Munich on August 25 next. . . . Everything will be done to render this congress, the first to be held by Jews, as imposing as its discussions will be of importance to Israel." The program read mildly enough: "(1) The position of the Jews in all lands. (2) Reports on colonization. (3) Chaluka. (4) Emigration. (5) Agitation and funds." Although the Zionists in Vienna enjoyed the novelty of preparing for an election of delegates to a Jewish Congress, "the call" did not immediately create a great stir.

Three weeks later the agenda of the congress was changed to include an address by Herzl on the Jewish attitude toward the next diplomatic congress of the great powers—and a repetition of the Berlin Congress seemed, owing to the crisis in the Balkans, no distant probability. This challenge was understood. A public international discussion of the Jewish question was unheard of, unthinkable. Herzl was attempting "to

¹Letter to the Author dated February 3, 1897.

give the anti-Semites a formidable weapon," and he would not listen to responsible authorities in Jewry; he ignored all protests, he was misreading Jewish history. Moreover, no one would attend. What hurt most was that institutionalism was set at defiance. An attempt was being deliberately made to pass the arbitrary power of small groups into the hands of the hitherto ignored masses. The more his followers praised Herzl as "the intrepid codifier of our principles," the more doubt was thrown on their existence. Who, after all, could be Zionists if not "Lovers of Zion?" And these organizations acted quickly.

Willy Bambus and Dr. Hildesheimer in Berlin, both of whom had assumed some responsibility for the first call, publicly withdrew, explaining that they had intended going no further than a conventional colonization meeting. The withdrawal of Dr. Hirsch Hildesheimer was extremely annoying. Herzl wrote the Berlin leader of the Lovers of Zion (May 9) that he was irreplaceable as a reporter on Jewish philanthropy in Palestine, but even so, the congress would be held, and, if necessary, the important subject of philanthropy would be dropped.

"You wished it were called Congress of Chovevi Zion instead of Zionist Congress. In this I see not so great a difference as between *bonnet blanc and blanc bonnet*. Moreover, you were not satisfied with the following passage of my previous announcement: Thus the requirements of each one of us will find expression. That is to say, through the congress. We will establish a place of refuge for the wishes and complaints of our brothers. Jewish affairs must cease to be merely the decision of individuals, however good-natured they may be. We must establish a forum to which everyone of us who labors for the Jewish cause can be in-

vited to give an accounting of his efforts. . . . Please do not misunderstand me. I do not quote this with malicious intent . . . but to show you that our differences are insignificant. I took for granted your agreement with such simple facts, ideas which are so expressed as to be fit for the comprehension of simple people. . . . I comprehend the whole incident as one in which you are giving consideration to matters that do not exist for me."

So much of the letter was dictated. In his own handwriting he added two sentences: "The congress will take place. That is the essential, there the matter rests." The English Chovevi Zion, by formal resolution, refused all participation.¹ Attempts were made to influence Herzl's "hotheads," and Col. Goldsmid even went the length of endeavoring, by letter, to dissuade Herzl from his rash undertaking, and instead submit to the authority and co-operation of the Paris Central Committee of the Lovers of Zion. Herzl's answer was characteristic: "I was willing to avoid arousing the masses and to work with those who heretofore led in Zionism. I was neither understood nor supported. I had to go ahead alone. At the Congress. . . . I will appeal to the masses to help themselves, seeing that they are not aided."

¹In England the movement originated in 1885 in the founding of a society for the Promotion of the Jewish National Idea. This was followed by the founding of the London Kadimah in 1887. The Chovevi Zion Association, in its summary of its origin, said: "The racial and national instincts which in times of prosperity often slumber in the hearts of Jews were thoroughly aroused by the cruel persecutions which the latter had to undergo in Russia and Galicia since 1882 . . . there were also an enormous number of homeless Jews who had actually, upon the whole globe, no resting place for the soles of their feet. . . . It is to motives such as those described that the Chovevi Zion Association of England owes its origin!" —*Palestina*: The Chovevi Zion Association Quarterly, October, 1892, Vol. 1, No. 1. The same issue contains an appeal for aid which begins, "We want help to found a home for our people in a land where they can return to the service of the soil and be free from the ever haunting dread of persecution."

A ZIONIST CONFERENCE.

SIR,—I am desired to announce that preparations are being made for the holding of a representative Zionist Congress at Munich, on August 25th next.

The preliminaries have been settled by well-known Continental Zionists, prominent among whom is Dr. Th. Herzl, who, as many others, has been struck with the necessity for combining the several Zionistic movements, and for giving shape and direction to their ideas.

The details so far settled are that representatives of all countries in which Jews reside shall meet at Munich on the above-mentioned date, and during a session lasting three days shall discuss the all-important questions that so deeply affect Jewish interests, the Zionist ideals to which the masses of Israel so zealously—and so persistently cling.

Everything will be done to render this Congress, the first to be held by Jews, as imposing, as its discussions will be of importance to Israel. In order to give the Conference a thoroughly representative character delegates will be invited from all Zionist movements, political or philanthropic, local or general, in their aims.

As the Agenda has, of course, not been definitely fixed, I shall be glad to receive suggestions and convey them to the proper quarters. The following topics will be deliberated upon:

- (a) The position of the Jews in all the countries in which they reside (one representative to report on each country), with statistical information on the economical, social and political situation.
- (b) Reports on colonisation movements.
- (c) The Chaluka.
- (d) The Emigration Question.
- (e) Agitation, Funds, &c.

It will be seen that this world congress has undertaken no light task, but the scheme of organisation will, I am sure, prove equal to the occasion.

My object in making public this proposal, is to gain for it the sympathy it needs, and at the same time to obtain as general an expression of opinion as possible on the issues involved.

To this end, I shall be glad if the Secretaries of the Zionist Associations, as well as the administrators of colonisation societies, Jewish farm schools and kindred organisations, will communicate to me at the undermentioned address.

I shall, with your permission, give further details of the forthcoming Congress at an early date.

Yours obediently,

JACOB DE HAAS.

8, South Street, Finsbury, E.C.,
London, March 16th, 1897.

CALL FOR FIRST ZIONIST CONGRESS.

His letter to the author was even warmer:

"If we have not grown sufficiently to face such difficulties, then we are fools if we believe we are equal to building a state. . . . The Congress will absolutely be held. Who will not come remains home. I have long enough strained my lungs and suffered writer's cramp to win such [Col. Goldsmid]. That sort of thing must have an end. . . . Already thousands of our poor brothers wait for a deed. The Jewish problem enters a new phase of agitation. I wanted to help the masses through the 'great,' the 'great' refuse. Now I will seek to help the masses through themselves. The former would have been the better way, but for this we lack men."

After referring bitterly to his offer to Baron Rothschild to withdraw from all activity if the latter would act, he continued:

"The philanthropic committees are not worth 'a farthing,' though I regard some individual members as fine men. If you wish to continue working along those lines you can sit for another hundred years in the Beth Hamedrash in Bevis Marks [headquarters of the 'Lovers of Zion'] and every six months send half an ox to Palestine. The Jewish State will not be developed that way. I am too earnest to play, the matter is too close to me. . . . I would regret a split in the English Chovevi Zion, but better a split than do nothing. What will the split be like? On the one side a few rich men with their Schnorrers, a couple of benevolent institutions that are badly administered; and on the other side all the live, youthful, courageous, and spiritual powers of Judaism. Forward! 'All the Jews have more money than the Rothschilds'—think of my words."

A few days later he prophesied:

"In the headquarters, if they do not join us, soon no one will meet. . . . Ever forward till we reach Zion. When they see that we cannot be stopped they will join us. The characterless will be the first to boast that only then had they

understood us. I call your attention now to the opponents of our Congress plan. Everyone merits investigation, whether he is a business Zionist or in the service of one. . . . Whoever in this Jewish matter has a good conscience need not shun the congress. . . . Telegraph if you agree to my adding your name to the official conveners. . . . With emotion I read the closing words of your last letter. Leshonah Haboh! If it's God's will we will soon return home. We are as near to Jerusalem as we will it. It is a question of the will in us. To evoke that will, to arouse it, and if necessary to lash it, is our work."

A formal resolution of a group of New York Jews, deprecating "any formation of a Jewish State in Palestine in such a manner as may be construed as casting a doubt upon the citizenship, patriotism, and loyalty of Jews in whatever country they reside," was merely characteristic of the public response. The opposition had all the advantage of publicity. The silent workers, unheralded by the press, had been efficient, for the attempt to prove that "Zionism and nationalism are in fact not only not identical, they are even antagonistic," fell on deaf ears.

The Russo-Jewish press was uncertain in its attitude. The *Woschod* (Russian) was affirmatively opposed to Jewish nationalism, but *Hamelitz* of the former St. Petersburg, and *Hazefirah* of Warsaw, two Hebrew journals, changed position several times. Holzman in *Hamelitz* tried to explain the new leader: "Herzl doubts as little as we the need for practical work. He also agrees that we must labor for colonization. But of his beloved idea, the establishment of a Jewish State, he yields nothing." They saw little good in the "New Joshua," as they feared for the consequences to the

colonization in Palestine, which after ten years of tiring work was only just then beginning to yield results.

The outspoken support of Rabbi Samuel Mohilewer of Bialystok held the journalistic opposition partially in check, but publicly expressed sentiment in Russia seemed generally opposed to Zionist aspirations and appeared to favor "amelioration from within" as the safer and surer solution of the Jewish question. But there was open revolt in the ranks of the "Lovers of Zion," and the political Zionists began winning support for an open Congress. Some zealous political Zionists were actually scoffing at the mission of Israel, which "has yet to be performed, because the diaspora gave only a scope for money lending and old clo-bartering."¹ Such language in cold print denoted the depth of the agitation and the revolt against accepted doctrine.

III.

Herzl had strengthened his position by founding, on June 6, *Die Welt*, a Zionist weekly, largely financed by himself. He chose bright yellow for the cover. Yellow had been the color of the medieval Jewish badge, and he determined that in his "Jew Paper," as he brusquely described *Die Welt*, "the stain of our shame shall become the sheen of our glory. We take this word, a term of calumny, and wish to make it a word of honor," and he declared the program of Zionism to be: "To create a homeland, secured by public law, for those Jews who cannot or will not assimilate in the lands in which they reside. . . . *Die Welt* will be the organ of those men who wish to lead Jewry out of these times into a better era."

¹Trager in the London *Jewish Chronicle*, May 28, 1897.

It was a new type of Jewish publication, intense, belligerent, polemic, and in it were associated a group of brilliant writers. But even this effort, which nearly sundered his affiliation with the *Neue Freie Presse*, would not have carried the congress plan to victory.

His supporters, more enthusiastic than capable, were hard pressed by the opposition. Moreover, they lacked means. The tactics of their opponents, however, forced them to furious endeavor, crowned by success. At this critical moment the Munich Jewish community gave notice of its opposition to the holding of a gathering which it affected to regard as of doubtful patriotic intent, and for the first time in modern history Jewish rabbis publicly attacked a Jewish cause.

On July 6 a declaration was issued by Drs. Maybaum of Berlin, Horowitz of Frankfort, Guttman of Breslau, Auerbach of Halberstadt, and Werner of Munich to correct "erroneous impressions" of the teachings of Judaism. "The efforts of the so-called Zionists to create a Jewish national state in Palestine are antagonistic to the Messianic promises of Judaism as contained in Holy Writ and in later religious sources. There is no antagonism, however, between this duty of citizenship and the noble efforts directed toward the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agriculturists, as they have no relation whatsoever to the founding of a national state." These rabbis, who had heretofore taken no interest in any Palestinean movement, declared, "Religion and patriotism alike impose upon us the duty of begging all who have the welfare of Judaism at heart to hold aloof from the before-mentioned Zionist movement and to abstain from attending the congress which, in spite of all warnings, is to meet."

These German rabbis misunderstood the effect of their attempt to issue an encyclical to Jews. True, they obtained the support of the London *Jewish Chronicle*, which was so angry that it urged the erasure of all restoration prayers from the Jewish liturgy, but such "a spasm" could effect little, and Herzl in scornful language dubbed them "protest rabbis:"

"The newest thing in the Jewish movement is the protest rabbi. Max Nordau branded this type in a sentence that will persist: 'They are people who sit in a safe vessel and who use the oars to beat in the heads of those drownings who try to hang on the sides of the vessel.'"

The newly founded National Jewish Association of Germany took issue with the rabbis on every point of practice and principle. They had overstepped their authority. There could be but one answer. Little polemic but great effort; the congress must be a success.

It was the first public struggle in Jewry. Jewish life is an unseen battle, waged on a world front, against impalpable forces. It is mostly an individualized, silent and undramatic resistance. It is possible to speak with some certainty, till the end of the eighteenth century, of the Jews. Enforced group segregation, legally constrained relationships, the general immobility, gave to the scattered elements at least the outward appearance of distinct cohesion and of uniformity of conduct. The various emancipations, political, religious, and economic, which in European lands occurred between the years 1792 and 1868, created so broad and silent a scattering, so complete a disjunction, that Herzl was not unjustified in concluding objectively that the visible common denominator that made of Jews a people, or a

nationality, was the re-aroused enmity which exercised a common pressure not only against groups, but also against individuals. This enmity, ignoring all the fine shades of distinction which Jews set up amongst themselves, was revealed everywhere by focusing attention specially upon those who by baptism or inter-marriage were obscuring their racial origin by the final forms of defensive coloration.

By 1837 Jews had become so obscure in France that a Scotch missionary failed to find them.¹ The disintegration of the historic Italian communities was such that till the nineties the handful of Jews in Italy practically passed unnoticed. In any large city of Western Europe typical names over store and office fronts may have called attention to the existence of Jews, but even these names were undergoing gradual change. The Jews were gently but persistently rubbing off the Ghetto patina.

For a generation there was no dissent from the obscurity imposed upon the Jews in compendiums of history, literature and economics. Even histories of religion ignored the Jews after allowing them to play a part in the first few chapters dealing with the evolution of cults. It was some years before the first protest was offered against academic ignoring of Jewish learning:

"With very few honorable exceptions, the Christian scholar and more especially the German Protestant scholar, simply ignores what the Jewish scholars have to say. If he would argue the point, if he would discuss, if he would deign to notice us, there would be some pleasure and interest. . . . Let the greatest Rabbinic scholar of the age write a series of

¹*A Mission to the Jews*: Edinburgh, 1839.

epoch-making studies on Rabbinic theology and Schurer will not even deign to mention or contradict them.”¹

To weld a people so vague and disparate, and affirmatively so inarticulate, into a political group sufficiently aggressive to bring the wealthy among them to obedience, and to make the mass sufficiently cohesive to become a force recognized by government was the task Theodor Herzl set himself when he signed the call for the first Zionist Congress. He distinguished between mob and mass action. He was no leader of the “street.” He did not plan an “international” organization, for that word connoted a form of radicalism and revolution which was foreign to his spirit. He thought of the congress in parliamentary terms. It should be a forum in which those who mounted the tribune should appear in the elegance of senatorial evening dress. The invisibility of the Jewish struggle should end by the self-determination of the Jews to make themselves visible. “We must establish a forum to which everyone who labors for the Jewish cause can be invited to give an accounting of his efforts.” The Jews should thrust upon the world an affirmative attitude. This in itself would be taking the aggressive, and create the necessary political mobility.

Such a program, which now seems commonplace, sounded catastrophic to all but his immediate followers. The “Lovers of Zion” had once met furtively at Kattowicz and later had conferred in Vienna. East European Jews had never enjoyed the luxury of public discussion. West European Jewish organizations rarely met under

¹“Jewish Scholarship and Christian Silence. Claude G. Montefiore, *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. I, 335, 1902.

the eyes of reporters. Only in England was the press invited, Jewish reporters representing well advised and carefully trained family weeklies. There was nothing in Jewish life worth hiding and perhaps little worth publishing. Obscurantism was part of the undispersed ghetto mist in which Jews had lived for centuries.¹

To invite the Jews to a reversal of an unbroken habit was to commit them to a revolution. Even in the United States every attack referred to the "much heralded," "much advertised" congress. Leaders, lay and rabbinic alike, shuddered. A public Jewish congress seemed to them grotesque; they saw the world mocking a babel of tongues, and cartoonists twisting bayonets in old, unhealed wounds. Leaders everywhere saw themselves confronted with a new upstart opponent. All Jewish institutions, like all non-Jewish institutions, were "pocket boroughs" for those sufficiently energetic to aspire to leadership. The system had its justification until such leaders ventured into fields where they had no responsibility. A congress of "elected" delegates was thus a menace to the established order.

IV.

The congress idea had to be fought, and against Herzl's newly gathered forces the "Lovers of Zion" assumed the position of shock troops. They had struggled for years in England, France, Germany, and even in Russo-Poland for communal recognition. Neverthe-

¹"One result of the Zionist Congress, which neither side can view with satisfaction, is the tendency it has had to force the Jewish question into undue prominence in the English press. . . . The settled policy of Jews should be not to thrust themselves into undue prominence. . . . For this reason the correspondence following on the Zionist Congress, which has found its way into the *Times* and other English journals, is to be deplored." —Editorial, London *Jewish Chronicle*, August 24, 1900.

WIEN, 19 X 96.
IX., BERGGASSE 6.

Mein lieber de Haas,

Ihr Brief hat mir wieder
Vergnügen gemacht. Arbeiten
Sie mir so fort, und Sie
werden einer unserer besten
Männer werden!
Da Sie so viel Vertrauen zu
mir haben und da auch ich
Vertrauen in Ihre Klugheit
und Verschwiegenheit setze,
so theile ich Ihnen mit, was
ich jetzt arbeite. Sie werden
es mir denjenigen unserer Genossen
sagen, auf die man sich nun
bedingt verlassen kann. Sie werden
vor allem dafür Sorge tragen,
dass davon nichts in die Blätter
kommt.

Schritte
Ich habe verschiedene
eingeleitet, um eine Audienz
beim Kaiser von Russland zu

"GREAT EXPECTATIONS."

Hopes for audience of Nicholas II and acceptance of delegation to Sultan.

less, their progress for a decade had been exceedingly slow, and but for Baron Edmond de Rothschild, their practical efforts in Palestine would have been too vague to record. The advent of Herzl, aggressive, rapid, and mysteriously powerful, threatened both their individual and organization leadership. Thus personal ambition suddenly entered a movement in which heretofore all officers had to be drafted. Their "practical" program was suddenly but ostentatiously petted by all those opposing Herzl. From obscurity they rose to inexpensive public acknowledgment. If they defeated the Viennese intruder, money would flow into their coffers. Beyond this they had a pressing material reason for opposing Herzl. They were afraid that the public avowal of a policy which many of them secretly worshipped would result in the serious repression by Turkish officialdom of the Palestinean colonization movement, a fear not without justification as a comparatively trivial event immediately showed.

It is solemnly true that the report of a meeting of Jewish youngsters, held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in December, 1894, to which the Milwaukee *Sentinel* gave the bellicose headline "Jews Will Possess Palestine," was forwarded by an industrious clipping bureau to the Russian consul in New York. Thence it found its way to the Russian ambassador in Constantinople, who had translations of it prepared in French and Turkish. It was presented to the Sublime Porte exactly at that moment when Baron Edmond de Rothschild's agent was seeking to induce the Turkish government to transfer title to lands in the Hauran. Those lands were not transferred. Whether honest or not in their explanations, the Milwaukee *Sentinel* clipping was exhibited by the

Turkish officials as the reason for their fear of further Jewish settlement in Palestine.¹

The "Lovers of Zion" had met with universal disbelief in the agricultural possibilities of Palestine, as well as doubt as to the aptitude of the Jews for farming. Their pioneers had died in the swamps, victims of malaria. A few had been killed by Arabs, others had wasted away in the effort to till the soil with tools they had never before seen, and which they did not know how to handle. Theirs was thus a tradition of patience and silence. They placed stone upon stone in the little Jewish villages in Palestine, believing with great faith that, in the end of days, out of their industry and perseverance, and by the power of silent wishing, a Restored Judea would emerge. It was a holiness and a joy to them. Zion was a world of magic and charm, poesy and prophecy, where Jews fresh from ghetto schools and work benches were gradually transformed into a new order of human beings.

Their quiet money raising propaganda was interwoven with the idealization of Jehuda Halevi, the pious imagings of Talmudic rabbis and the tense strophic verses of the prophets. In pre-Herzlian Zionism there was a large slice of Messianism,² expectancy and conjecture as to what would happen when the "Sick Man" of Europe disappeared.

In sixteen years they had conquered a bare foothold in Palestine, and not more in world Jewry. Diplomatic contacts? These were the task of a Rothschild buying land. Political effort was so unknown as to

¹Related at the time by Elim H. d'Avigdor to the author, who undertook to trace the "news story" to its source and submit a report to the Turkish Government.

²Dr. Osias Thon, *Die Stimme der Wahrheit*, Wurzburg, 1905.

sound uncanny. Nationalists they were, but it was a nationalism of the spirit, that found expression in the revival of Hebrew as a spoken tongue, not in the formation of a political force. They had neither mind nor aptitude for such undertakings. Beyond all things the open avowal of a desire for a "Jewish State" was a betrayal of a cherished "inward monition." Herzl was exposing to the sunlight what to them looked most beautiful in the deepest shadows.

Herzl had however struck a note which called forth resonance from a long muted string. Few dared wholly disavow Zion. But ignoring that it too had its origins in a protest against anti-Semitism, many could escape the strange allure of a Zion State by offering lip-service to the "Lovers of Zion." The latter were however not permitted to go scot free. Opponents like Dr. Israel Abrahams of London sought to bedevil all those interested in Palestine. Thus he accused the Chovevi Zion of "playing with fireworks in the back yard while Dr. Herzl had gone round to the front door and set the house on fire. . . . When they perceived a real live firebrand in Dr. Herzl's hand they promptly turned the hose on him." And there followed the "most unkindest cut of all," and an excellent exhibition of foresight. "No one will again mistake their own harmless squibs for dangerous bombs."¹

All these considerations, made manifest in letters, messages, telegrams, and, as *Die Welt* began to function, in news items, ran athwart much other physical and mental labor. Herzl practically built up the first edition of *Die Welt* single handed: "Yesterday there was nothing, today a journal with definite physiognomy

¹*Jewish Chronicle*, London, August 6 and 13, 1897.

exists." And this laborious task was interrupted by increasing strainful scenes with the proprietors of the *Neue Freie Presse*. As editors and friends they besought him to end the role of "playing the Jew." Either he should give up his congress and *Die Welt* or quit his cherished position on the *Neue Freie Presse*. Of this pressure Herzl wrote characteristically, "These men excite themselves in editorials when a minister limits the free-speech of his subordinates."

V.

This tension came upon him while the Munich Jewish community protested against the holding of the congress in their city, and the "inaction" committee, as Herzl ironically described his Viennese organization, decided to convene in Basle, Switzerland. The Munich protest he recognized as an opportunity and wrote boldly.

"We were dissuaded from meeting at Munich . . . the Bavarian Government had nothing to say against the Congress . . . we changed the venue from Munich in order to erect a lasting memorial to the protest of the Jewish community there, for my friends and I entertain the conviction that this congress will be a red-letter day in the history of the Jews . . . I want publicity, full, honest, and thorough publicity. The object of the congress is not to create an International group, but to bring about international discussions, which in my view, sooner or later, in some form or the other, must lead to the solution of the Jewish Question."¹

Neither Bacher nor Benedict could persuade him to yield. He merely played for time and "like a good housewife" cleared his desk and prepared for his resig-

¹*Jewish Chronicle*, London, July 23, 1897.

nation from the *Neue Freie Presse*. During this painful spell in which he took note of his weakened physical condition, he took a brief vacation. But he was restless, nervous, and exceedingly fatigued. Each day brought its own petty annoyance, difficulty, reproach, sarcasm, intrigue. Even among his associates there were newly discovered ambitions; they wanted to be something more than a "privy council to an absolute Monarch."

Among the compensations were Demeter Stourdza, Minister President of the Roumanian parliament, and one of its few liberal leaders who had spoken well of Zionism; and Oedon Szechenyi Pascha, a romantic Hungarian who had rendered valuable service to Turkey, had re-opened the Palestine Question with the Sultan, and who was to be represented at the Congress by Newlinski. Gladstone, for the second time took a favorable view of Herzl's project despite his lifelong antipathy to Turkey. "My inclination would be to view with favor any reassembling of Jews in Palestine under Ottoman suzerainty."

As the time for the congress drew near his mind was clouded with doubt. To Bacher, who was still urging him at least to remain in the background, he said, "I am giving the Jews a congress. Thence onward if it really wishes to, the people can help themselves." He had great misgivings both as to the outcome of his diplomacy and as to the will power of the Jews and he did not easily reconcile himself to bringing face to face all the human strings that composed his network. Newlinski the secret agent, whom he sometimes distrusted, and then again accepted wholeheartedly, was a problem; and there were others who he thought would be weakened not strengthened by mutual contact.

Besides, the Congress as he began to visualize it in detail would require the nimbleness of an egg walker. He enumerated all the eggs he would have to avoid cracking—the list is interesting because it flatly contradicts those critics who believe that Herzl's strength was in the blind force he exercised among a people whom he did not understand. "Egg" by "egg" the list reads: (1) *Neue Freie Press*, (2) Orthodox, (3) The Modern Jews, (4) Austrian Patriotism, (5) Turkey, (6) Christianity, (7) Edmond de Rothschild, (8) The Russian Chovevi Zion (Lovers of Zion), (9) The Palestine Colonies, (10) Personal Differences, (11) Envy and Ambition.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST CONGRESS

The delegates—Emotional scenes—The sessions—Personality of the leader—Platform and issues—Nordau's Jeremiad—Closing Scenes—Herzl's re-action.

THE necessity for so much nimbleness was distressing, but with characteristic discipline on his arrival in Basle he gave himself over to rearranging all the physical details of the congress. Herzl demanded that every delegate wear the conventional European gala evening dress. This festive tone he forced upon the temporary office of the congress, and he changed the meeting hall because the one that had been engaged was not sufficiently imposing. His eyes went everywhere, he studied every face, attended to every conceivable detail, called on the state and municipal officials, and even argued Max Nordau, who had no liking for the idea, into abandoning his "cutaway" for evening dress. Herzl was so pleased with this victory that he heartily embraced his snowy haired co-worker.

Basle was alive with Jews, one hundred and ninety-seven delegates and their friends, wearing small azure colored seven cornered shields with twelve stars in red and gold bearing the legend in German: "The only solution of the Jewish Question is the establishment of a Jewish State." Above this they wore the blue and white rosette with a six pointed star—the official badge. These delegates, strangers to each other, came from every part of Europe. They formed groups, wandering

through the hilly streets of the Swiss City, besieging the congress office in the Freie Strasse, which was at once a bureau of information and of mutual introductions.

The majority of those who had answered the congress call came from East of the Danube. Of these only some of the Russian delegates knowing each other felt the need of a preliminary caucus. While the rest of the delegates hurried to and fro from office to hall observing the new mystery, a congress evolving and taking shape, the Russians met, "about what I do not know" wrote Herzl. But he attended their session. They interrupted their flow of Russian to explain the subject of their debate in German. They were meeting in a room in the Congress office.

"Herzl had pressed and urged me to come into the hot smoky room. He listened to them and looked at me with questioning eyes. Then he called on me to speak. I said, briefly, I had left all my theories and psychology at home in London. I had come to work and plan. Herzl, repeated my words with a wealth of emphasis. The Russian session broke up abruptly, in order to allow us to attend service in the synagogue. As I joined the leader in this stroll he looked worried. He explained, 'Understand? This should be a conference of generals; that was a meeting of an academic debating society'."

It was his first contact with the Russian Group.

Every delegate approached Herzl. They crowded around and watched him whose strange elegant figure looked taller than he was, move coolly and commandingly among them. The delegates first met together at a preliminary "commers" (festivity) where they listened to an emotional address by Max Nordau which moved them to awe and tears. Tenkin, a Russian Zionist,

ARBEITS-PROGRAMM

UND

GESCHÄFTS-ORDNUNG

DES

ZIONISTEN-CONGRESSES

IN

BASEL

AM

29., 30. und 31. AUGUST 1897.



VERLAG „DER WELT“.

DRUCK DER „GESELLSCHAFT FÜR GRAPHISCHE INDUSTRIE“.

*Facsimile (reduced) of the four-page program and rules of procedure of
first Zionist Congress.*

Geschäfts-Ordnung:

§ 1.

Der Zionisten-Congress hat den Zweck, durch öffentlichen mündlichen Meinungsaustausch die Interessen des Zionismus zu fördern.

§ 2.

Mitglied des Congresses kann Jeder werden, dessen bis 15. August erfolgte Anmeldung von der vorbereitenden Commission genehmigt worden ist, und der sich mit dem allgemeinen Programm des Zionismus förmlich einverstanden erklärt.

§ 3.

Ausser Mitgliedern können dem Congress auch anderé Personen als Zuhörer beiwohnen, vorausgesetzt, dass sie bis 25. August beim Bureau des Congresses in Basel angemeldet sind. Der Zutritt zur Galerie ist nur gegen Eintrittskarten gestattet.

§ 4.

Die Arbeiten des Congresses bestehen in den Verhandlungen über die Fragen, welche von der vorbereitenden Commission auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt worden sind. Nicht auf der Tagesordnung befindliche Gegenstände können nicht in die Discussion gezogen werden.

§ 5.

Zu Beginn der ersten Sitzung übergibt die vorbereitende Commission die Geschäfte dem vom Congress zu wählenden Präsidium.

§ 6.

Der Vorsitzende leitet die Verhandlungen nach den allgemein anerkannten parlamentarischen Grundsätzen.

§ 7.

Die Referate sollen nicht länger als eine halbe Stunde dauern. Der einzelne Redner darf in der Discussion nicht länger als zehn Minuten sprechen. Schluss der Debatte wird auf Antrag mit Stimmenmehrheit angenommen.

§ 8.

Die Referenten können jederzeit in die Debatte über ihr Referat eingreifen. Bei Repliken sind sie auch an die Frist von zehn Minuten gehalten.

§ 9.

Die nummerirten Plätze werden den Mitgliedern in der Reihenfolge der Anmeldung vom Congressbureau angewiesen. Die officiellen Delegirten der Zionsvereine und Landescomités haben reservirte Plätze.



Arbeits-Programm:

Erster Tag, 29. August. I. Sitzung, Beginn 9 Uhr Vormittags.

Constituierung:

- a) Eröffnung des Congresses durch den Alterspräsidenten.
 - b) Begrüßungsrede von Dr. Th. Herzl.
 - c) Wahl des Bureaus, bestehend aus einem Präsidenten, einem General-Secretär und einer noch zu bestimmenden Anzahl von Vorsitzenden und Schriftführern.
 - d) Verlesung des Einlaufes.
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Tagesordnung:

Erster Punkt. *Die Allgemeine Lage der Juden.* Referent Dr. M. Nordau.

Zweiter Punkt. *Begründung des zionistischen Programms.* Referenten Dr. N. Birnbaum und Dr. D. Farbstein.

Erster Tag, II. Sitzung, Beginn 3 Uhr Nachmittags.

Tagesordnung:

Dritter Punkt *Die zionistische Organisation.* Referent Rechtsanwalt Dr. Bodenheimer

- a) Centralisation der zionistischen Thätigkeit.
 - b) Nationalfonds.
 - c) Agitation.
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Zweiter Tag, 30. August. III. Sitzung, Beginn 9 Uhr Vormittags.

Tagesordnung:

Fortsetzung der Referate und Debatten über den dritten Punkt.

Zweiter Tag, IV. Sitzung, Beginn 3 Uhr Nachmittags.

Tagesordnung:

Vierter Punkt *Die Colonisation Palästinas.* Referent Dr. M. T. Schnirer

- a) Landankauf.
 - b) Gründung neuer Colonien.
 - c) Ausbildung von Colonisten.
 - d) Import und Export.
 - e) Culturelles.
-

Dritter Tag, 31. August, V. Sitzung, Beginn 9 Uhr Vormittags.

Tagesordnung:

Fünfter Punkt. *Hebräische Literatur* Referent Dr. M. Ehrenpreis.

Dritter Tag, VI. Sitzung, Beginn 3 Uhr Nachmittags.

Tagesordnung:

- Sechster Punkt. *Bestimmung des nächsten Congressortes und Einsetzung eines Bureaus.*
Siebenter Punkt. *Congressabschied mit Resumirung der Beschlüsse.*



Anmeldungen zum Congresse, sowie Zuschriften, welche die einzelnen Referate betreffen, sind an den Schriftführer der vorbereitenden Commission:

Herrn **Dr. O. Kokesch**, Hof- und Gerichtsadvocaten, Wien, I. Singerstrasse 25 zu adressiren.

Auf die Referate bezügliche Zuschriften können auch direct an den betreffenden Herrn Referenten eingeschendet werden.

Adressen der Referenten:

Dr. M. Nordau, Paris, 34 Avenue de Villiers.

Dr. N. Birnbaum, Berlin, Lessingstrasse 23.

Dr. D. Farbstein, Zürich, Unterstrass, Weinbergstrasse 117.

Dr. J. Bodenheimer, Köln a. Rh., Hohenzollernring 18.

Dr. M. T. Schnicer, Wien, XIX. Döblinger Hauptstrasse 36.

Dr. M. Ehrenpreis, Diakovar, Croatien.



with "the leonine head with its tossing black mane and great shoulders, Apollo turned Berserker," who had a voice like thunder, was addressing the assembly in Russian when Nordau and Herzl entered. The former was called on to speak.

He began very simply, saying that he did not understand by ear but understood by heart what the Russian orator had said. Greatly moved, in thrilling accents, Nordau quoting in Hebrew began: "A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping, Rachel weeping for her children, she refuseth to be comforted for her children, because they are not." (Jeremiah 31:15) The few Hebrew words, the genuine thrill of the voice, set many weeping who had thought themselves beyond the capacity for tears. This utterance of the prophet is converted in the Talmud into a masterful legend of the mother of the Jewish race rising from her lonely grave at Bethlehem to stay the fugitives speeding towards the Babylonian exile, and on failing to stem the tide of emigrants she received a promise from God that, one day, her children would return. There is perhaps no other sentence in the Pentateuch that so well expressed the sub-conscious emotions and yearnings of all these delegates. It explained their presence in Basle as nothing else did. That a radical Parisian writer, debonair, square shouldered, with an imperial beard, one of the most modern of the intellectuals, who a year before was not even known to be a Jew, should in throbbing accents repeat these sentences of the mother's inexpressible woe, was an omen; "deep was calling to deep" across the world, in time and space. No cheers but the sound of several hundred men gasping with uncontrolled emotion could be heard as Nordau ended his brief

address. And by way of contrast there followed Heinrich Loewe, recently returned from Palestine, adapting Shakespeare, and seeking to find a tongue for every broken ridge and desolate terrace in Palestine. Man after man found tongue, and when the night had worn itself away, still intoxicated by nothing but brotherly emotion, the younger members marched through the streets singing Hebrew songs from the orthodox liturgy.

"Perhaps the streets of no city have ever listened to the like. Nor did any man imagine prior to this time that he would be chanting songs of Zion in the quaint and narrow streets of Basle as a mere matter of course. It seemed as though the age of miracles was returning. Mysticism was suddenly revived and Herzl—the word passed from lip to lip—being told that a miracle had been reported in Galicia, replied, 'No, the miracle is here—the congress is a miracle.'"

There was one other moment in the unofficial gatherings which had the same electric quality. The congress had been in session for two days and routine was beginning to master both novelty and emotion. The delegates trooped into the "Brauenschweig" restaurant for their midday meal excited by the news that a group of the Russian delegates under the leadership of Menachem Mendel Ussischkin, a leader of the Odessa "Lovers of Zion" were trying to force the acceptance of some of their views, or threatening disruption.

Ussischkin, an engineer by profession, had come to the congress with his own printed program of policy. There was in his unemotional face, wide set eyes, "bull" neck, and sturdy figure more Russian than Jewish, an iron determination that nothing could change, bend, or weaken. Persistent, tenacious, "a first class fighting

man," he was the Odessa Central Committee of the "Lovers of Zion;" but while most west European "Lovers of Zion" had denounced Herzl and the congress, and refrained from attendance Ussischkin came with his associates. He wanted colonization and not a state. He was primed for battle. He proposed to conquer Herzl. He was not eloquent even in his native Russian. He could barely make himself understood in his heavily Russian accented German, and he despised and therefore declined to speak Yiddish. None of all these handicaps prevented him "outsitting" every opponent in committee. He had the physical stamina required by the "obdurate juryman" who knows his eleven colleagues are wrong. And he had two advantages. A group of the delegates had "trained" with him for years, and all the delegates from Poland and Russia had, in coming to the congress, run the risk of either being arrested on their return home or of not being permitted to re-cross the border. No one knew how Russian bureaucracy would view the attendance of Russian Jews at a congress at which Russia was attacked in terms of unmeasured scorn and at which moreover a Jewish State was discussed freely. It was well understood that Russian spies circulated among the delegates. All these considerations helped to shape the phraseology of the Basle program.

As the delegates sat down to lunch they visualized the congress rocking to and fro. Upon this tense scene entered Hermann Schapiro, professor of mathematics at Heidelberg, an old nationalist, as shaggy and slight a figure as legend ascribes to Elijah the Tishbite. With a gesture he stopped the wagging of tongues and the clatter of knives and forks. His long thin beard wind-

blown by the vigorous motions of his own hands, he spoke to the delegates as "children," the "children of Israel." Burning and bitter words flowed from his lips until master of the situation he forced all to rise and setting the example by extending his right hand upward he led all to take to him and to each other the age-old oath of Jeremiah. "If I forget thee, oh Jerusalem! may my right hand forget its cunning." The old phrase had acquired new living personal implications. When the session was resumed there was unity of action.

It was in this rare atmosphere that Jews from the four corners of the globe, met publicly and formally on August 29, 1897, in Basle. A hostile correspondent wrote about the congress: "There can be no two opinions about the enthusiasm it has kindled . . . what the delegates lack in eminence they make up for in quantity and in fervor." And of Herzl's reception, when after the aged Dr. Karl Lippe of Bucharest had given him the gavel with the challenging words, "the only thing they need is a fatherland," this observer wrote, "to say that Herzl received an ovation is to use too mild an expression. Such cheering, such excitement is rarely experienced in England."

There were differences and difficulties, all the "eggs" that Herzl had enumerated, but at the opening of this sacred reunion of the race these were stifled under the general acclaim that greeted the kingly presiding officer. His poise, his carriage, his glance, and the even tones of his voice carried conviction.

"A majestic Oriental figure, the President's—not so tall as it appears when he draws himself up and stands dominating the assembly with eyes that brood and glow—you would

say one of the Assyrian Kings, whose sculptured heads adorn our museums, the very profile of Tiglath Pileser. . . . In a congress of impassioned rhetoricians he remains serene, moderate; his voice is for the most part subdued; in its emotional abandonments there is a dry undertone, almost harsh. . . . And yet beneath all this statesmanlike prose, touched with the special dryness of the jurist, lurk the romance of the poet and the purposeful vagueness of the modern evolutionist; the fantasy of the Hungarian, the dramatic self-consciousness of the literary artist, the heart of the Jew."¹

Nordau, as master of the picture of Jewish suffering was more brilliant in epigram, others exhibited striking talents and played their parts well, but above all, unrivalled among his people, stood Theodor Herzl, leader of men.

Cables and telegrams fluttered on the secretariat tables by the hundreds. Petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of Roumanian and Galician Jews were presented; bags full of letters that were opened weeks after. Well might one observer write, "this gathering will one day be surrounded by a halo of mythical significance and glory."² Herzl yielded to the occasion. His doubts and his disappointments, and the greatness of the task ahead were for the moment forgotten.

This picture of the first congress written contemporaneously by the author may still stand:

"Sunday morning, and the first session of the first Jewish world wide Congress. An unimpressive hall and a narrow gallery on one side, chairs and tables for the delegates, an L of tables for the journalists. A steep platform, covered with green baize, with a baize covered tribune on its left. To the rear a long narrow room by which the officers could enter

¹Israel Zangwill, *Dreamers of the Ghetto*.

²Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, p. 268.

the hall. Buzz and buzz for half an hour, of delegates being seated, evening dress and black frock coats the order of the day, the audience in the gallery craning their necks, asking explanations, the programme by no means illuminative, and all expectancy.

"Then Dr. Herzl and a few others came out of the side room and stepped on to the platform. The congress was in being. The gathering leaped to its feet and cheered and cheered, in the acclaiming notes of a dozen nationalities. And then, exhausted by its first burst of enthusiasm, sat down quiet and orderly. The Congress had commenced. Dr. Herzl as he delivered his first address was listened to with spell-bound, tense, ear-straining attention. It was neither the manner nor the method of speech, but something of what he said, and the existence of this tribunal that impressed itself deeply upon all. But for those irregularities which are natural to a large gathering, and are still more natural to men strange to public assemblies, the Congress proceeded in a proper and solemn manner. Herzl received the huzzahs of a king, and men climbed over one another to congratulate him. The address of Dr. Nordau, which followed the organization of the Bureau of the Congress, was accorded a reception but little less royal. Men wept over his new lamentation, which told not so much in tearful accents, but in words that at one moment clashed like an ominous roll of thunder, and at another crossed the horizon like a lightning flash. It stood before the Congress as the tale of the years of woe. For the impression was growing and growing that this was not a mere gathering of practical men, nor yet a mere assembly of dreamers; the inward note was the gathering of brothers meeting after the Diaspora, and every word lent force to the ideas. For there followed, what to the more matter-of-fact element was wasted time, long details of Jewish suffering in all the lands of their travail.

"From then onward, the passion to do grew. Committee after committee was appointed, and much that was at first rhetoric had to reappear in the form of resolutions at the Congress. If Dr. Herzl ruled the gatherings, no little of the whole shaping of the sessions was due to the labors of Dr. Nordau. For he took in charge the two principal committees. He was directly responsible for the programme committee. He formulated the programme, and he helped York-Steiner, who

reported on the draft of the first constitution. It was immediately noticeable, too, that the Russian group was well disciplined by Dr. Bernstein-Kohan, while all its personal admiration was for Dr. Max Mandelstamm. The other groups, as groups, were too small to be effective. Yet their representatives took part in every gathering, and for some time the language difficulty presented obstacles. But there was no delegate who was not a bilinguist, many could master half a dozen tongues, and yet when it came to the precise and definite rendition of clauses and articles, the question of translation was no light one. But the delegates took up such questions with zest, eager as it were, to prove their ability to overcome language as well as every other obstacle. And the day closed amid a general feeling of satisfaction that Zionism had triumphed in the first two sessions of the Congress.

"The work of the sessions of the second day fell into more regular order. Certain men made their mark, Dr. Mintz, a polished representative of Viennese society, Professor Schapiro, with the beard of a prophet and a wizened figure always shadowed by his young wife. There were scenes, too, that began to shape themselves into living pictures, to remain for all time typical of the new-born Israel.

"The third day, with its three sessions was, naturally, the day of excitement and the day of parliamentary labor. The party programme was the only issue on which any serious difference of opinion existed. And when the jurists, and there were no end of lawyers present, began playing fast and loose with the interpretation of words, things seemed to be getting into a muddle. The right expression, or rather the safe expression, was found; and so the Basle programme was adopted amidst what had now become the usual round of cheers. The hours, however, which had been spent in framing it do not go down on record.

"Another equally responsible task was that of framing the constitution. The committee met at 6 A. M. in a long, narrow room, a closed-in corridor, with its four great windows looking over the market-place. They worked for many hours composing what occupied but very few lines on a single sheet of paper. The floor was littered with scraps in Russian, German, Hebrew, English; waste paper baskets filled up with half-finished sentences, incompleated resolutions, unended clauses.

"Six o'clock, seven o'clock, and the debate went on; a quiet, even debate of phrases and exact words, a dozen resolutions submitted, a clause accepted, yet on interpretation, something lacking, something omitted, and redrafting became necessary. One could imagine nothing so dull, nothing so dreary; and yet an abundant zeal was manifest. The pressmen, in whose room this was proceeding, came in and out and exhibited sympathy for this plodding body.

"The eighth hour lengthened to the ninth, and the heap of scraps had grown. In a lull in the discussion a tall, bearded man entered and told a new story of Bulgarian mysticism. The others nodded, and the scratching of pens continued for another half hour. About 9:30 Dr. Herzl entered, fresh and debonair, it being one of his capacities always to look fresh. He asked whether the committee had completed its labors; and the chairman, drying the last full stop on his single sheet of paper, rose and read it out carefully, each member following with a translation in his own language.

"'Good!' exclaimed Dr. Herzl, heartily; and smiling, added softly, 'The Jewish State exists; the Bulgarian vision is not altogether untrue.'

"A young lady from amongst the crowd that always followed at the heels of the leader, asked what did Dr. Herzl say so mysteriously.

"'Oh, he only said that the Jewish State is in existence.'

"Her eyes flashed with enthusiastic fire. She was about to cheer, but she paused to ask in quivering accents, 'What has happened?'

"'Happened?' was the reply. 'Oh, we have just finished the constitution of the Zionist movement.'

"When that constitution came up at the public gathering, its passage presented no serious difficulty. Two Englishmen, strangers to the Congress, had come on the second day, Israel Zangwill and Joseph Cowen. Zangwill began by sitting at the rear. The next morning he had crept up to the journalists' table and was taking notes. I had suggested that for the English Zionists the shekel (affiliation due) should be doubled; and Zangwill quarreled with me for my generous offer, though he was not a Zionist. Later I saw him still nearer the front. The constitution adopted, the election followed, and there was a nasty spill here, for a great difference of opinion existed as to whether or not the Congress should



THE STADT CASINO BASLE WHERE THE FIRST SIX CONGRESSES
WERE HELD.

appoint Dr. Nathan Birnbaum as secretary of the movement. Except for this the appointment of the governing committee was completed with much eclat.

"We came thus to the seventh and final session of this Congress. It was an extra gathering. The rabbi of Basle ascended the tribune, partly to shrive himself—he was not a Zionist—partly to express the timidity of the rabbinical element. Herzl was almost imperial in his reply that religious Judaism had nothing to fear from Zionism, and he reasserted that 'a return to Jewry must precede the return to Zion.' Then we came to the closing word. An apologetic reference for any harshness, a great phrase as to his belief in the future. A vote of thanks followed, but it was no ordinary compliment.

"The Congress was on its feet, the correspondents mounted the tables, and the audience in the gallery grew equally excited. It was not a question of cheering, but of ventilating hearts full of emotion. I have seen bigger crowds and have heard more vociferous outbursts, but the like of this mass of waving handkerchiefs—I made a mental picture of Zangwill's spare figure on a chair, waving a red bandana in the midst of it all—the like of this I have never seen.

"The simple words of the president, 'The first Congress is at an end,' were heard, but not understood; that is to say, no one realized and no one could realize that after so many ages of separation there was to be so speedy a parting. The delegates remained standing, cheering. Some one broke out into the *Hatikvah*; another began singing the 'Watch on the Jordan.' From side to side of the hall came shouts of 'A year to come in Jerusalem.'

"The scene continued for an hour, and even then the end was not. The delegates took up their cardboard portfolios, and collected their scraps of notes. They walked aimlessly and listlessly about the room. They shook hands with each other. A hundred times they bade each other Godspeed in a dozen corners; perhaps the most self-possessed was the leader, as he bade the delegates farewell in a small side room.

"But at length even the Congress hall had to empty itself. The delegates went down the wide white stone steps on to the hilly street, and no sooner were they down but they inconsequently reascended, and being up, they came down again.

"Heinrich Loewe and myself, observing as journalists while we too felt all this emotion, concluded somewhere about

midnight that this was no time to sleep. It was a sultry August night, and all old Basle was at rest. The hundreds of fountains were splashing as usual. We walked automatically towards our hotel but drew back again at the door. Where to and what for? It was impossible to think of sleeping after such a wave of emotion. We bethought ourselves. There was a stretch of greensward by the side of the Rhine which rushes through the city. We would sit there into the cool of the morning and allow the Congress thus to breathe itself out. So we made for the greensward—and we found all the delegates there. The same thought had apparently struck the majority. They sat there quietly, looking pensively into the gleaming of the waters. Some got up and strolled away, and then came back. The majority sat there till the dawn appeared over the Jura mountains.”

VII.

In his diary Herzl wrote on August 30, “The history of the past days I need not write, others are already writing it. . . . Many were deeply moved yesterday—I was cool. . . . At the presidential table—the momentary importance of which I do not over estimate but which will grow in history—I am writing congress post-cards to my parents, to my wife and to each of my children. This is probably the first childish thing I have done since I began the movement two years ago.” His real accomplishment was that he had induced this group of hitherto unrelated and highly individualized delegates to unite around a common platform.

“The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.”¹

¹This is a translation from the French; the literal translation of the German phraseology is a “publicly secured, legally assured home,” etc. Nordau claimed the authorship of the phraseology. In a letter to the author discussing complex problems then under consideration, he wrote, under date of Paris, May 5, 1901: “The masses will understand, I believe, the practical creations just as readily as the idea of the Final Exodus, and they will feel the boon of them at once. For all this it is unnecessary to alter the Basle program. I knew what I did when I formulated it. The wording is elastic. It contains everything. You have only to interpret it.”

He stressed and inserted the word "public." He established the new organization on a proportional electoral basis. With Nordau he had thus taken the Jewish Question "out of the ghetto into the open." Moreover he had succeeded in obtaining general agreement to his view that the policy of colonization in Palestine by infiltration was undesirable. Victory along the whole line.

The full measure of Herzl's horror of anti-Semitism was in his opening address: "The modern cultured and ghetto emancipated Jewry has been stabbed to the heart—we can say this quietly today, without incurring the suspicion of appealing to our enemies." The road he had travelled back from indifferent assimilation was indicated in his definition of the movement: "Zionism is a return to Jewry even before it is a return to the land of the Jews."¹ His program was simple:

"We Zionists desire for the solution of the Jewish Question not the formation of an International Association but an international discussion. This difference is of the utmost concern to us, this difference legalized the convening of the congress. We have to deal not with federations or secret conferences but with a voluntary and free discussion under the complete control of public opinion."

Having emphasized the Jewish Question he turned to Palestine:

¹This sentence is practically identical with one that he used at the close of the congress in answer to a challenge of Rabbi Kohn of Basle. "Judenthum" in German applies equally to Judaism and to Jewry. The phrase has been frequently interpreted as implying that Herzl held that the road to Zion was through a return to Judaism. But such an interpretation is strained. Herzl respected other men's convictions, and he responded easily to certain ceremonies and habits which were so entwined in the lives of Jews as to color family and social relations. He came to accept wholeheartedly certain liturgical symbolism which the nationalists adopted as expressive of their views and emotions—the observance of Hanukah, the festival of the Maccabean victory, and Passover. But just as "Jewish culture" in its accepted interpretation remained always foreign to him, so he personally remained distant from purely religious concepts, though his children were taught Hebrew, and recited their night prayers in that tongue.

"These colonization efforts in Palestine—were only the first words of the Zionist movement; they are not the last. If colonization is to go on at all, it must be continued on a larger scale. A people can only aid itself; if it cannot do this, it cannot be aided. We Zionists wish to urge self help upon the people . . ."

Finally an answer to the fearful:

"A complete exodus from any place is naturally not to be thought of. Those who can or wish to assimilate themselves will remain and become absorbed. When after a perfect understanding of the political factors involved the emigration of Jews begins systematically, it will continue only as long as any country will allow its Jews to go. How is this cessation to come about? Simply by the gradual decrease and final end of anti-Semitism . . ."

Although Herzl came out of the congress with a new appreciation of the attitude and position of the Jews in Russia and Poland his thought was still distinctly of the position and need of re-settlement on the part of the west European Jewries. Morally they needed the Jewish State most.

Max Nordau held much the same view. While in his remarkable survey of the conditions of the Jews throughout the world he itemized all the persecutions in Eastern Europe he dwelt with great emphasis upon the effect of anti-Semitism in Western Europe. The moral Jewish misery in his eyes, too, was worse than physical persecution. So he told the delegates who listened tensely to their modern Jeremiah:

"The Jews of Western Europe are under no legal restrictions. They may move about freely like their Christian fellow-countrymen. The economic results of this freedom of action have, undoubtedly, been most favorable. . . . The emancipated Jews of Western Europe in a comparatively short time have attained a moderate degree of prosperity. In

any case the struggle for daily bread does not assume the terrible forms which have been described as existing in Russia, Roumania, and Galicia. But among those Jews there grows another form of Jewish misery—the moral.

“The Western Jew has bread, but he lives not on bread alone. The life of the Western Jew is no longer endangered through the enmity of the mob: But bodily wounds are not the only wounds that cause pain, and from which one may bleed to death. The Western Jew meant emancipation to be real liberation, and hastened to draw the final consequences therefrom. . . . The Jew says naively: ‘I am a human being, and I regard nothing human as alien to me.’ The answer he receives is, ‘Softly, you must enjoy your human rights cautiously, you lack the right notion of honor, feeling for duty, morality, patriotism, idealism. Therefore you must withhold yourself from all those vocations in which these qualities are pre-requisite.’ . . .

“I must utter a painful thought. The nations which emancipated the Jews mistook their own sentiments. . . . The emancipation of the Jews was not the consequence of the conviction that grave wrong had been done to a race, and that it was time to atone for the terrible injustice of a thousand years; it was solely the result of the geometrical mode of thought. . . . An automatic application of the nationalistic method. . . . The emancipated Jew in Western Europe . . . has lost his ghetto home, but the land of his birth has been denied him as a home. He avoids his fellow Jew, because anti-Semitism has made him hateful. His fellow countrymen repel him . . . of no community is he a full member. This is the moral Jewish misery which is more bitter than the physical because it befalls men who are differently situated, prouder and more sensitive.”

So sharp edged a picture had never before been drawn and exposed to public exhibition. Its truth has never been disputed. This diagnosis was never seriously debated. The Congress acclaimed these utterances and accepted the remedy in the language of the platform which became the Zionist creed.

Herzl alone stood tearless when he closed the final

sessions with the words, "the first congress is ended."

What thoughts passed through that mind that had conjured to life all this emotion, this following, this platform, this party, this organization, and created so much publicity for an idea?

In his diary he wrote:

"We have made history. . . . Were I to depict the Basle Congress in a word—which I shall refrain from uttering publicly it is: In Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I said this aloud today, the answer would be universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, in any case in fifty years everyone will recognize this. In truth a state exists by the people's will to be a state. . . . Territory is only the concrete foundation, a state, possessing territory, is in itself something abstract. The Church State exists without territory; otherwise the Pope would not be a sovereign. In Basle I created this state which, because it is abstract, is most invisible. I did it with infinitesimal means. I hounded the people into the state sentiment, and conveyed to them the emotion that they were the national assembly. . . . Gala costume makes most men stiff. Out of this stiffness arose a certain formal tone. . . . I did not fail to raise this tone to gladness. . . . Nordau spoke magnificently. His address is, and will remain, a monument to our times. When he returned to the presidential table I went up to him and said, 'Monumentum aere perennius.' Then the various reports were presented. Then I knew why I had to go for four years to the Palais Bourbon. Unconsciously I was master of all the intricacies of procedure. I was as anticipatory and energetic as Floquet, and in difficult moments permitted myself presidential jokes.

"The first day I made a number of mistakes, but on the second, according to general opinion, I had the situation in hand. . . . The most important principle which I caused to be introduced, and which was adopted almost unobserved, was the decision that the next congress should be limited to elected delegates. . . . Everyone approached me on all manner of important and unimportant matters. At every turn

four or five people were speaking to me. An intense mental strain, as everyone was entitled to a definite answer. To me it seemed as though I was playing thirty-two simultaneous games of chess.

“And the Congress was impressive. While Nordau presided I once went to the rear of the hall. The long green tables, the raised presidential platform, the green baize draped tribune, the official stenographers’ and journalists’ tables, made so deep an impression on me that I quickly went away in order not to be overcome. Later I understood why I was so cool while all others were so excited and bewildered. I had not known how impressive the congress appeared in this sober concert hall, with its unornamental grey walls. I had no presentiment of this picture, otherwise I too would have been moved.”

CHAPTER VIII

THE IDEA GROWS

Aftermath of the Congress—Beginning of the American movement—Strengthened by opposition—Turkey seeks loan—"The Menorah"—Attitude on Jewish Kultur—*Das Neue Ghetto* presented—Addresses in Berlin and Vienna—Break in "Lovers of Zion"—Prepares to found Zionist Bank—Second Congress.

"WORDS had been his material, but now it was human beings" of a type none too tractable.¹ It was a far stretch from the police suppression of a Zionist meeting in Vienna and a protest against the rejection of the congress by the Munich community to the world interest in the movement aroused by the Basle sessions. With the exception of the *Neue Freie Presse* the opinion creating daily press of Europe noticed the congress, the "English newspapers discussing the problem with characteristic farsightedness and vision."² The French press lauded the gatherings; the Swiss papers treated the Congress with great liberality and earnestness. Distinctly the movement was "in the open." Such Jewish assimilationist weeklies as the Parisian *Archives Israels* which alluded to the "Utopianists Congress," angrily rebuked a writer for comparing the Zionist Congress with the official Sanhedrin convoked by Napoleon in 1805. It further complained that Grand Rabbini Zadoc Kahn had not only given a daily newspaper an interview on the Jewish Question, thus establishing a precedent, but had

¹Martin Buber, *Theodor Herzl: Jevdische Bewegung*, Berlin, 1916.

²*Das Leben Theodor Herzl*, Adolf Friedemann, Berlin.

refused to join the "protest rabbis" in their condemnation of Herzl and his followers.

The opposition was far from silenced. The orthodox Jewish press of Germany was thoroughly bewildered. "Do the Zionists too constitute a sect? . . . Like the Sadducees it places the national above the religious idea, the flesh above the spirit." To them there was something galling in the thought that "coreligionists utterly indifferent, who look with contempt upon our observances and regulations, yet emphasize, with vehemence and zeal, their Judaism. 'Dr. Herzl himself, might not attend the synagogue very much, may even eat a ham sandwich on Yom Kippur, and yet none would boast, as much as he, of being a Jew.'"¹ One writer tried to advise the very marrow of German orthodoxy not to obstruct Zionism because the "Zionists are the natural allies of the orthodox against reform," but the editorial mind would none of it. "We have to deal with a pseudo-Messianic movement. This is confirmed by the hazy ecstasy which characterized many of the speeches of Basle." And it added naively, "We believe that these few words will suffice to prove the impossibility of founding a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine or elsewhere."² The demands of the Zionists are so absurd that we almost doubt the sanity of their leaders." Even the rabbi of Buda Pesth joined the protestants. But for the moment Zionism was publicly in the ascendant.

Bloch's *Wochenschrift*, the oldest Viennese Jewish weekly, sat nervously on the fence. One week it permitted Rabbi Lippner of Glogau, following Mommsen's theory of the early presence of Jews in Europe, to

¹*Der Israelit*, Mainz, September, 1897.

²*Ibid.*

expound his view that the political Zionists were probably descended from those Jews who were not in Jerusalem when the Jewish State still existed. The following week's editorial was written by Dr. Meyer Cohn of Berlin who stated: "If the opponents of Herzl are favoring the colonization of Palestine that is the result of the pressure of Herzl's propaganda. . . . If Herzl as the Basle programme suggests—can postpone his Jewish State idea to a later period he will have rendered great service to the Jewish national idea." Still another article criticized Zionism as an exhibition of spleen, in which Viennese Jews would have no part, and they desired that their opposition should be understood by non-Jews.¹

"Zionism was the only subject discussed, east and west, for weeks."²

The London *Jewish Chronicle*, now practically pledged to opposition, tried to be fair. "An interesting page in contemporary Jewish history . . . the congress," said its editorial, "was not unsuccessful. . . . Herzl was . . . a born leader of men. . . . Though the Congress was magnificent, it was not war. . . . He has earned the approbation of all Jews by his frankness, especially as it has been allied on the one hand with so much moderation and on the other with so enlightened an earnestness." In one English review the convening of a European conference to solve the Jewish Question was publicly mooted. In the *Nineteenth Century* Dr. Emil Reich proved to his own satisfaction that Zionism was historically wrong, and practically dangerous and cowardly. Mohilewer of Bialystock and Rulf of Me-

¹Pp. 614, 712, and 722, September, 1897.

²Adolf Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzl*, Berlin.

mel, two of the most picturesque and potent personalities in the rabbinate of Eastern Europe and avowed "Lovers of Zion," had given the congress their blessing, and the East European Jewish press responded sympathetically. The heather was aflame in that direction.

And now the United States was to be heard from. The New York *Sun* on May 10, 1897, was the first daily newspaper to call attention to the movement and its editorial comment was not particularly favorable. "We shall soon learn the measure of his [Herzl's] influence upon the Jews in the United States. Probably it will not be great."¹ But the stirring of the dry bones of European Jewry had produced no serious repercussion in the United States. Something of the new thought had reached New York by the publication of Leroy Beau-lieu's essay on anti-Semitism, but the Frenchman was not in favor of Zionism and his articles were quoted in editorials against a movement that was not invited to explain its own case.

The *American Hebrew*, then the organ of moderate conservatism and an accredited mouthpiece of institutional Judaism, took notice of the opposition of the "Lovers of Zion" societies and guided itself by the fact that

¹There is a curious report in the New York *Sun* of Wednesday, May 5, 1897. A meeting is reported as having been held on Tuesday, May 4, at Liberty Hall, East Houston Street, Ex-Coroner Ferdinand Levy presiding, at which delegates to the congress were to be elected, but the action is reported postponed. In the issue of May 10 there is a column article which, after purporting to quote Herzl on some points of the general Zionist program, relates, "It is said that the delegation from New York will consist of six delegates and that there is vigorous competition for a place on it." Moreover, "it is expected that not fewer than fifty and perhaps as many as a hundred delegates will go from the United States to the Munich Zionist Congress." In truth, there was but one official American delegate, besides an American woman, to seat whom the congress voted equal suffrage. And Adam Rosenberg, an attorney, returning from Palestine to report on land purchase to "Lovers of Zion" societies in New York, was also present. Evidently the publicity agent was even then in the land.

"the daily press . . . thought it [the Congress] worth less than two inches of space per day."¹ But "if good can come out of Gath we shall be pleased to welcome it . . . It suffices to say that the entire Jewish press of the world with less than half a dozen exceptions has been opposed to the Congress."² Finally it sought to dismiss the matter: "So far as its animating purpose was concerned it was a failure."³ However, under the pressure of a few nascent Zionists, the *American Hebrew* republished the substance of the London *Jewish Chronicle's* report of the sessions and thus brought the matter before the English reading Jewish community. Three American Jews had attended the Congress but only one, Rabbi Schepsel Schaffer of Baltimore, founder of the local "Lovers of Zion," was an accredited delegate. His coming was probably the result of the interest of Dr. Aaron Friedenwald of Baltimore, one of the first avowed political Zionists in the U. S. A.

The antagonistic tone had been prescribed as we have seen by the July 1897 gathering of the Central Conference of American Rabbis which declared that "no organization effort to create for him [the Jew] an asylum duly protected by the law of nations is to be made," because such an undertaking was a total misunderstanding of Israel's mission. Even Jewish colonization in California was being opposed and the abandonment of the further development of Argentinian colonization was ignored. The *Chicago Reform Advocate* admitted in an editorial by Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch that "the most prominent event to which the past year was

¹*American Hebrew*, 1897, p. 488.

²*Ibid.* P. 515.

³*Ibid.* P. 572.

sponsor as far as Judaism is concerned is the congress of the Zionists at Basle," but Zionism stood "in direct connection with anti-Semitism."¹ Another local rabbi frankly stated in the same journal, his opposition more typical of the current Reform Jewish attitude, "Every land is our Palestine. Every city in which righteousness dwells is our Jerusalem."

The Cincinnati fountain of American Jewish reform used much ink in denouncing the congress which "cannot properly be called Jewish . . . belongs not to Jewish history, and exercises no influence upon Judaism, or the Jews in general, excepting only the Russian and Roumanian Jews, and perhaps also those of Persia and Morocco." Geographically this exception covered about seven million Jews. If the terminology referred to types, rather than to location, this exception covered almost nine-tenths of the Jews in the world. Nevertheless proceeded the editorial, "A Judenstaat was no Jewish enterprise but . . . the hallucination of some overcharged Jewish brains."² Like the more conservative New York newspaper, it concluded that "the fact that the Associated Press paid no further attention to the august body [than issuing two brief despatches] indicates that it did not appear important enough to the representatives of the press to make much ado about it."

Nevertheless the editor, Rabbi Dr. Isaac M. Wise, felt obliged to expound his opinion on the Congress in the New York *Times*.³ His condemnation ran: "The Jewish Congress in the City of Basle was in fact a congress of Russian emigrants . . . a gathering of vision-

¹*Reform Advocate*, Chicago, September 25, 1897.

²*American Israelite*, September 9, 1897.

³September 8, 1897.

ary and impracticable dreamers who conceived and acted a romantic drama, and applauded it all of themselves." A few weeks later, September 23, in his Cincinnati editorial chair he dismissed the congress with a final phrase: "It was absolutely of no importance."

What pleased these opponents was a report from the Parisian *Journal des Debats* that "Russia certainly would never give her consent to the proposed scheme." There were, however, American Jews who pleaded, "let not the American Jew remain behind and be indifferent." But there was a very clear reason for indifference.

At a debate held in November 1897 by the New York Judeans, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, who afterwards became a Zionist, expressed his disapproval of the new movement. All things were opposed to a return to Jerusalem. What sort of Government could one expect of a country governed by those who come from Russia, Bulgaria, etc.¹ The contempt for the East European Jew as sponsor for Zionism had been equally clearly voiced in London by Haim Guedalla one of the Sephardic leaders. The antagonism was not new and as Pasmanik has shown² mutual social antagonisms have been characteristic of Jews for centuries. At that distance Vienna was part of Eastern Europe, and there could be no balm in that Gilead.

Three entirely dissimilar voices however were raised for the cause—Gustave Gottheil, Rabbi of Temple Emanuel, New York, Emma Lazarus, the poet, and Joseph Herz, then Rabbi in Syracuse, and now Chief Rabbi of the British Empire. Dr. Herz drew

¹*American Hebrew*, 1897, pp. 488, 515, 572, etc.

²Dr. Daniel Pasmanik, *Die Seelen Israels*, Cologne, 1911.

a picture nowhere else revealed in the American public prints of the time:

"Zionism is today on the lips of official Jewry throughout the world. In America it enjoys a further distinction which at once marks it as deserving of most respectful consideration. Within a few weeks it has succeeded in leaving far behind in the race of ecclesiastical unpopularity all other 'well worked heifers' such as ceremonialism, orientalism, Tribal Judaism, etc., and it is now the best hated of them all."¹

And he joined Herzl and Nordau in this scathing indictment of his professional colleagues. "A great many Jews, within and without the synagogue, are willing to subscribe to the memorable words of Dr. Rulf, rabbi of Memel, 'Ja, die Rabbiner sind unser unglueck' (Yes, the Rabbis are our misfortune)."²

Arthur Dembitz may claim the distinction of being the first native American Jew to organize a group of Zionists. The United American Zionists—the nucleus of the Federation subsequently established—was founded on October 22, 1897, with ten societies constituting the organization. The actual responsibility for the development of the American organization was assumed by Prof. Richard Gottheil, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and Isidore D. Morrison. Rabbi Hirsch Masliansky by his eloquent oratory popularized the movement among the Yiddish speaking element.³

Had Herzl, in July 1896, in the words of the Black Prince, threatened, "I will come back, but with helmet on head, and with sixty thousand men at my back," he would unquestionably have shocked Baron Edmond de

¹*American Hebrew*, 1897, p. 712.

²*Ibid.* p. 744.

³The first Yiddish Nationalist weekly issued in New York City was *Shulamith*, published in 1889 and edited by Dr. Blueston.

Rothschild. But by October, 1897, he was the recognized leader of a world movement to which several million Jews responded with fervor.

II.

Even his journalistic colleagues, he found on his return to Vienna, had in some measure been influenced by what had happened at Basle. The *Neue Freie Presse* did not yield its policy of boycott, but Bacher, as Herzl related with gusto, was furtively reading the congress reports in the Swiss papers, and when they met Bacher "kept turning and twisting so that I should not see the stout bundle of Swiss papers sticking out of his coat pocket." Benedict was less interested, and for a time peace was maintained in the office on the condition that Herzl should not sign his name to any articles in *Die Welt*. Herzl agreed and thereafter employed his Hebrew given names, "Benjamin Zeff," as a Zionist nom de plume. Some of his happiest and most lucid Jewish contributions appeared under this signature. The truce was, however, temporary, and feeling that sooner or later he would have to quit his desk, he prepared his long neglected drama, "Das Neue Ghetto" (The New Ghetto) for public presentation. He still commanded the attention of the theatrical managers, but if he left the *Neue Freie Presse* all hands would be raised against him, and no manager would dare to present a play of his in opposition to the wish of the newspaper. It was this fear that constantly aggravated his nervous heart attacks, and made him write so often, "I am tired, I feel like an old man."

For a moment it again appeared as though his dream of a daily newspaper under his editorship would

was ist in London seit
meiner Abreise vorgekommen?

Wenn Sie sofort antworten
trifft mich das Brief noch
hier. Vom 3 August an
bin ich in Wien.

Mit Freundschaft

H.

H. Herzl

Hier mein Entwurf
unseres Zeichens



weisses Feld

sieben goldene Sterne

Facsimile of part of a letter with design of flag in which Herzl urged the author to found a national Jewish Central Committee for England. He advocated the use of his seven starred flag as an emblem and added, "Here is my design for our flag." Below the design is the description, "white field, seven golden stars."

be achieved. His new supporter, Prof. Max Mandelstamm of Kiev, Russia, an oculist of more than local reputation, and a member of a well-known assimilationist family, who became one of his most devoted supporters, was interesting a Russian Jewish millionaire in the journalistic project, and Herzl immediately offered to stake all his means on the venture, but nothing came of it. Again, as in the summer of 1895, he indulged in day dreaming, and his "fantasies" had now more force to them. The man who had turned his day dreams in the Garden of the Tuileries and in the Palais Royal into the Basle congress conceived it possible to realize his dreams of a daily newspaper with a Jewish policy, of a bank to finance his negotiations, and if these were accomplished, to charter a yacht and go sailing up the Mediterranean as "a Jew returning homeward." In that fantasy Herzl epitomized his personal relationship to the cause.

His desk became daily more laden with letters, and he began to appreciate how the great, busied with a thousand things, grew indifferent to correspondence, and acquired even a dislike for their persistent communications. This thought put him on guard, and many letters went into his copy book which, on reflection, he did not mail. But he enjoyed this pressure, and complained that his colleagues could not, or would not work with the same energy and zest which inspired him. No one, in his judgment, ever did enough for the cause.

Politically he had to keep abreast of conditions in Turkey, where it was alleged Jews were again intriguing against him—an unpleasant evidence of his power—while in France his cause was gaining ground temporarily from the sudden revival of the Dreyfus affair.

For a moment, too, it seemed as though circumstances would compel even his Viennese associates to align with the Zionists. The *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, had been unfavorable to Zionism. Therefore, there seemed good warrant for the London *Daily News* report, published in September from Rome, stating that the Pope had asked Monsignor Bonetti, the apostolic representative in Constantinople, to come to Rome to discuss ways and means of combating Zionist plans. This drew from the Viennese Jews such response that one of his colleagues jokingly asked Herzl whether or not he had instigated the publication of so brilliant a piece of propaganda. Herzl never saw it in that light, and immediately approached the Viennese Nuncio, who did not receive him. The Vatican, however, speedily contradicted the report, making clear that it was taking no decisive position on Zionism, evidence that Zionism was a movement that could no longer be ignored.

To put the problem in a clear light Herzl published in the *Contemporary Review* his own views of the congress, and particularly of the program:

"Nothing was more instructive at the Basle Congress than the vigor—I might almost say violence—with which the representatives of the great Jewish strata of population resisted any attempt to limit the guarantees for a State based on public rights. The executive appointed to draw up a program had proposed 'a legally secured home.' The delegates, however, were not satisfied and clamored for an alteration to 'secured on the basis of international rights.' It was only by adopting the intermediary expression 'public rights' that an agreement was arrived at.¹ The significance of this logomachy is, that

¹In the author's diary of the congress we find this interesting note: "Pointed out to Herzl that *rechtlich gesicherte* might be all right for Ger-

what the Jews desire is not to acquire more tracts of land, but a country for the Jewish people, and to emphasize the desire in terms as plain as possible without wounding certain legitimate and sovereign susceptibilities. We can acquire land any day in our private right everywhere. But that is not the point with the Zionists."

The contention, made in England, that the congress was not sufficiently representative, he dismissed ironically:

"Certain benevolent corporations and boards of deputies were not represented on it. They were not there? We did not invite them. What have we to do with Boards of Deputies, benevolent institutions, and the hundred and one Jewish Pickwick clubs? Our good friend of the *Times* columns has simply failed to understand our movement. He does not know what the resurrection of the nation is. He has not seen that we have already begun to place Judaism upon a new basis without sending round the hat, and without any banquets."

Although he wrote in his diary somewhat wearily, "I am one man, and the task is great," he was daily evolving new tasks for himself. The Basle Congress was in modified form the "Society of Jews" he had foreshadowed in his *Jewish State*. His problem now was to add its companion organization, "The Jewish Company," the financial instrument which would make his negotiations effective. He not only believed in the separation of church and state, but he believed in the separation of statecraft and money power. He had come to realize that he could not depend upon the rich Jews for financial support. They understood Jewish affairs as char-

man readers. But it was clumsy and difficult to express in English." His answer was: "No need for worry. The people will read it as 'Jewish State' anyhow."

ity, and they would not change their attitude even at the behest of sovereigns, and when the first Russian Jewish capitalist, like J. K. Poznanski of Lodz, came to him, he realized that he too, had this class attitude. Herzl never forgave the rich Jews for their indifference, and every passing success he signalized by some mocking reference to their "stupidity."

The way out of financial embarrassment was to found a bank, the Jewish Colonial Trust, "Jüdische Kolonial Bank," as he named it in October, 1897, and he dedicated himself to that task, as his great effort for a year. The thought took shape, first in an article in *Die Welt*, in which he sought to capitalize the enthusiasm for the movement. "A Jewish Colonial Bank!" He foresaw the satire that would inevitably follow this announcement but he reminded his readers that he proposed to create a national, not a religious, financial institution. He sketched a commercial bank and made clear even in this preliminary exposition that no part of the proposed two million pounds of capital would be employed to purchase land or would be directly expended in colonisation projects. And he ended with his ever present thought where money was concerned. "The incompatibility of politics and business is a question of honor." It became more definite when Nordau wrote him from Paris that he had been approached to finance a Turkish loan of forty million francs. In exchange for this sum Turkey was willing to give a concession for a Mediterranean-Persian Gulf railroad with the right to colonize seventy thousand square kilometers of Palestine.

"Alas, the rich scamps we cannot get, and our bank does not yet exist," wrote Herzl, but coming from Nordau, who six months before had been exceedingly skep-

tical as to the reality of the Turkish attitude, this news moved Herzl to suggest that another attempt be made to influence the great Hirsch Trust, the Jewish Colonization Association, which admittedly had more money than it knew how to employ for its own policies. And again, in exchange, he offered his withdrawal from the movement. As Herzl anticipated, this effort came to naught. "The Jewish Colonial Bank has to become actually the Jewish National Bank. 'Colonial' is only shine, nonsense, firm name. It shall be established as the national financial instrument."

In this same letter to Nordau he recurred to his yachting expedition—it subsequently occupied much space in his novel, *Altneuland*. "In April we will charter a vessel and go for a month to Palestine." All those participating were to join in the founding of the bank. Nordau was sufficiently encouraged to endeavor to obtain an audience from the German Emperor, whom Herzl was also seeking to approach through the Grand Duke of Baden. Herzl immediately yielded to Nordau, and urged him in addition to make contacts and visit Russia to interview Constantine Petrowitch Pob-yedonostzev, the Grand Procurator of the Holy Synod, the perfect anti-Semite who is credited with saying, "There is only one solution of the Jewish question—expel one-third, baptize one-third, execute the remaining third." The Russian Zionists were experiencing difficulties, and needed permission to organize societies and make collections for Zionist purposes.

"This I am informed is a life and death question for our movement in Russia. Minister Goremikin is the most powerful personality there. In Russo-Poland Prince Imeretiniski is

governor and must be won for us. . . . God knows I give you tasks, as I give them to myself, but for that I do not apologize."

III.

He could ask so much without hesitation, for besides all his other tasks, between September and December, he wrote eight long articles for English reviews and for *Die Welt*. One of these essays, "Mauschel," a sardonic characterization of the anti-Zionist, aroused a storm among his non-Zionist friends. "Mauschel has made his peace with anti-Semitism. In the culture lands the Jews are concerned about their honor. Mauschel shrugs his shoulders, What is Honor? Why do we need Honor? If business prospers, and one is healthy, the rest is bearable." He hit even deeper in an essay entitled "Stock Exchange Misery" (Borsenelend), a remarkable description of the misery of what he termed the "stock exchange proletariat," the little fellows mostly Jews, who were regularly squeezed out by the big manipulators. Herzl was determined to prove that nothing relating to Jews should be regarded as foreign either by a "Jew paper," or a Jewish party. "The stock exchange misery is a part of the general Jewish misfortune," and he brought a little light into this dark place. A sentence in this essay illuminates the Herzlian thought processes. "It is frequently said that money debases its possessors. But the contrary is true. Men debase money by the use they make of it." The same, he argued, was true of the stock exchange. Basically it was a desirable useful institution and the radical desire to destroy it was the result of the chicanery practised on 'change. But in December Herzl struck a new sentimental and more

self-revealing note. The "Festival of Lights," or the "Feast of Dedication" (Hanukah), celebrated by lighting candles for eight consecutive nights in remembrance of the Maccabaeen victory, was the occasion for a revelation of his emotions such as he rarely permitted himself. In "The Menorah," he unbosomed himself as a Jew to Jews.

"There was a man," he wrote, "who felt deep down in his soul that he needed to be a Jew. His outward circumstances were not unsatisfactory. He had a sufficient income, and a pleasant profession in which he could create whatever his heart desired. He was an artist. His Jewish origin, and the faith of his fathers, he had long ignored. Then the old hate arose again, disguised with a fashionable title. . . . Out of mystifying ideas he came to a clear thought which he uttered aloud. The thought was that there was only one way out of Jewish misery and that was the return to Jewry. . . ."

Briefly he traced the intellectual consequences of this decision, the desire to separate the assimilative habits current in his home life from the primal Jewish ideas. His children could be made to see a new viewpoint. These at least should be educated as Jews. The thought of the Maccabaeen festival presented an opportunity. He purchased a Menorah, but "when he held this nine-branched candelabra he became depressed. In his father's house, in his distant childhood, these little lights too, had flamed and there was something sad and sorrowful about them." It was all tradition bound. He examined the Menorah. Its shape suggested that its design had followed the lines of a tree with extended branches.

"Our man was an artist, and he thought to himself, is it possible to revive this dried Menorah, to nurture its roots

like a tree. He liked the sound of the words he repeated each evening to his children, and they were soothing sounds as they were repeated by childish lips. . . . When he decided to return to his old race and to avow it openly he had thought of doing something honorable and useful. That he would also find on his homeward journey that which would also satisfy his longings for the beautiful he did not imagine."

But the vision having come to him, he must fulfil it. Then he considered the form and decided to design a Menorah that shall be a cluster of burgeoning buds. So passed the week.

"Came the eighth day when the whole row of lights were flaming, also the loyal ninth, the servant that serves merely to light the other eight. A great brilliance spread from the Menorah. The children's eyes glistened. To our man the illumination appeared as the flaming up of the nation. First one lit candle. It is still dark, and that one light looks sad. Then a fellow traveller joins it, one more and more. The darkness must yield. First the young and the poor are enkindled, then gradually others, who love right, truth, freedom, progress, humanity and beauty. When all the candles burn one is astonished and happy over the completed task. And no task affords more happiness than to be the servant of light."

To his more religiously emotional admirers, Herzl, in this essay, cast off the garments of modern assimilation and reclothed himself in the robes of his people. He was no longer for them in action, he was of them in spirit. The essay was translated into many tongues, and had a profound effect all over Eastern Europe. Herzl, however, quite understood that this poetic concept meant nothing to his own world.

The author stood beside him in his library when Herzl two years later repeated the ceremony and told the Maccabaeon story to his children. When they left

the room he turned and said: "You saw your camp fires of Israel burning"—alluding to an essay the writer had then recently published—"I saw the brilliantly lit-up new Jerusalem, my father saw the flicker of the stars, but some one will presently complain that there was nothing there but the melting wax, which soils the bookcases."

The romance of the idea, as well as of his own life had grown. He had acquired the poet's mysticism, but this "inner light" did not turn toward religiosity. Nor was he won for the then nascent Jewish "Kultur" movement. "He did not know what 'Jewish Kultur' meant," wrote one of his critics, sorrowfully, long afterwards.¹

This "Menorah" essay was, however, to give him much trouble a year later. The Zionist culture movement nursed by the philosophic Achad Ha'am in Eastern Europe, and opposed by the orthodox Zionist rabbis—who feared an intellectual movement that borrowed all their ideology, but translated it to secular purposes—gained ground. Even the newly won and easily affected German youth interpreted this essay as implying Herzl's conversion to an educational program, and so at the second congress the culture wing practically forced the establishment of an educational committee, which however, did nothing. Nordau, who was more sympathetic to the subject, frankly said of Herzl: "Culture does not form part of his program."² And Herzl, in an interview, answered categorically: "I reckon with existing factors. The committee for the Promotion of Culture and Education appointed at the congress is in reality a misfortune; it was forced upon

¹Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, Vol. I.

²Published in English and Hebrew newspapers, February 1899.

us. . . . When the Jews are in Palestine, the people will instinctively decide which form of culture is the proper one."¹ But the idea that he had changed front remained, and many of his subsequent difficulties with the Russian Zionists were in part due to the temporary misinterpretation of this soulful essay. He read *Rome and Jerusalem* in 1901 and thoroughly approved Hess' Spinozaean and nationalist tendencies. "He anticipated every one of our experiences . . . since Spinoza Jewry has produced no greater spirit than this forgotten, faded Moses Hess."

Neither Bavarian social Jewishness nor Anglo-German institutional Jewishness attracted him. He was as easily confounded by Gaster's semi-orthodox explanation of Jewish culture as by the yearnful book knowledge, the intellectual and somewhat sentimental Jewishness which was accepted by the liberal philosophic school as Jewish culture. The hundred and one per cent loyalists have always used this weapon of attack, lack of comprehension of the Jewish soul. An old Jewish joke tells that Moses would be unacceptable to the Frankfort Jews because he was not born in that city and, therefore, not swayed by its tradition of orthodoxy. Pinsker was born in Tomashev, in Poland, and thereby failed to satisfy the praetorian guard of Lithuania. The same forces attacked Herzl, and twenty years later, employing the same argument successfully opposed Justice Louis D. Brandeis. These three dates—1881, 1901, 1921—make a curious but not yet fully illuminated page in Jewish history.

As for Herzl, unlike most of his associates, he had no regret for the ghetto, and no deep interest in its in-

¹*Ibid.*

tellectual and spiritual development. He saw a few fine things in it, silken threads that might, in a new atmosphere be woven into resplendent material. He wanted to quicken dry bones, dead trees and withered leaves; those that had been left exposed in the dry air of the fortress of Masada, not those decaying in the muddy streets of European cities.

He called and responded to, what was left in the soul of the Jewish masses of the heroic struggle of the Maccabees, and of those who withstood Titus and Vespasian. As a Jew he bridged a gap made by the erosion of seventeen hundred years. The somber forms of art that ghetto gloom evolved did not appeal to him. He looked at Jewish history as he looked at the Menorah. A tree had suggested the shape of the candelabra; back to the tree he would go, and graft new life upon it. So in splendid sunshine it would grow again to be revered because it had become "a thing of beauty." Rienzi probably thought in these terms when he sought to induce the medieval Italians to restore the Roman tribune. And there was much, translated into Jewish environment, of Rienzi and more particularly of Mazzini in Herzl's mentality and inspirational outlook.

IV.

For Herzl the year 1898 opened with the presentation in Vienna of his drama, "The New Ghetto." The first night audience acclaimed it, and its author was enthusiastically called before the curtain. A month later the Berlin critics flayed it. Herzl wrote dramas and farces which were all produced either at the Burg or Karl Theater in Vienna, and were popular with Austrian and German stock companies. But none of his

dramatic efforts had the enduring qualities of his other literary efforts. The fine, almost delicate imagination which served so excellently in his essays, he also employed as a playwright. But his critics justly reproached him with the charge that in his more serious efforts most of his characters were merely puppets who repeated the wise, clever, polished thoughts of the dramatist, and rarely were themselves.

Herzl dramatized ideas, not situations, which fact makes many of his plays good reading. This defect is characteristic of "The New Ghetto." It was, it will be recalled, the first result of that rush of thought that lead him into Zionism. Arthur Schnitzler could not, at the time, induce managers to accept it, under a pseudonym, and Herzl then sent the manuscript to his friend Teweles, in the hope that he could place it, under the same conditions of secrecy as to the real author, on some stage, if not in Austria then in Prague. At the date Herzl began his diaries Teweles informed him that he had been unsuccessful, but in the rapid march of events "The New Ghetto" was ignored and replaced in Herzl's mind by the composition of the *Jewish State*. The tragedy, as we know, written under great mental excitement, was to expound an idea—a pro-Zionist idea—and when redrafted for presentation that motive, if somewhat vague and colorless, still suffused it.

Its interest, indeed, now is that it indicates the difference between the Herzl of the winter of 1894, and the Herzl of the summer of 1895. The story reflects the man who detested the ghetto, and who, while he urged his fellow Jews to emancipate themselves from a moral prison, leaves them with the prison door flung open on a nebulous "open space." The new ghetto

is the barrier placed around the Jews in society after the actual walls of the old ghetto were demolished. The characterization is excellent, particularly the mother, Mrs. Samuel, whom he drew from life—his own mother. Each figure in the Jewish upper middle class of the nineties in Vienna and in Berlin is strongly drawn. The superior, sensitive, cultured Jewish lawyer, the stock exchange broker, the would-be politician who is willing to exchange his Jewish birthright for a career, the broker's commission agent, uncultured, good-natured and gross; the business absorbed Jewish banker—his finer and coarser sides—are presented excellently. Herzl had the gift of characterization in single strokes—a Phil May quality in words. The social environment is as painfully accurate as in Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto*, but there is no spontaneity. The tragedy would be impressive were the moral not so obvious. The characters bend too transparently to admit of individual emotional conviction on the part of the auditor. The climax moves but does not thrill the onlooker.

"The New Ghetto" aroused attention, because it was produced when its author was famous as a Zionist, but he could not change it seriously without turning it into propaganda. Exactly this dilemma he sought to avoid, because he now regarded his dramatic efforts as a crutch on which he could lean if Zionist propaganda forced him to leave his journalistic post. It was characteristic that he should ask the German *Literary Annual*, in 1898, to erase all previous literary entries, leaving only *The Jewish State* to his credit. Herzl went direct from the Viennese premiere of "The New Ghetto" to Berlin to initiate Zionist propaganda in the German capital; to see whether the door to the Kaiser's

palace could be opened; and more particularly to confer with Ahmed Tewfik, the Turkish ambassador, who was far more influential than his Viennese colleague. The ambassador professed admiration for Herzl's Palestine plans, but countered with a project of his own: The Jews should settle in Turkey without specific grant of land or autonomy. The plan, "a colonization of a new Armenia in Turkey," was rejected. A month later the ambassador made a better offer, an area in Asia Minor should be set aside for Jewish settlement, but Herzl declined this, too, and though the ambassador offered to present Herzl's views to the Sultan, he preferred to defer action. He wished his bank scheme realized before he would make new overtures to the Sultan.

Meanwhile, the movement had been growing vigorously. In Galicia 120 groups had sprung up in a few months, and in Vienna "scarcely a Jewish meeting" was held "at which Zionism is not discussed." War on it had been declared in Germany. The *Berliner Tageblatt*, a Jewish owned daily, published articles by Dr. Edward Glaser, a well known Arabic scholar, who described Herzl and his colleagues as "Zion drunk," "dreamers," "phantasts" and the like, and accused Herzl of being the agent of English policy in the Near East.

Nordau responded sardonically to Glaser, and Herzl joined in the polemic; but not satisfied he immediately proceeded to the center of the struggle.

Of his first Zionist address in Berlin Herzl recorded that the audience listened respectfully, was interested, "but did not like the bride's nose." On his second trip, in February, during which he more definitely sought to

arouse private interest in his bank project, he was more successful in creating public interest in Zionism. The real organization of German Zionism is dated from that meeting, though a considerable portion of his address was devoted to a scathing attack on his first important critic, Dr. Max Klausner.

Herzl could not forget that Klausner, in reviewing the *Jewish State*, had said: "If these are the ideas of a single individual then they are the ideas of a lunatic." The single individual, he observed, had found comrades, and the asylums would have to be enlarged and increased in number if all his fellow lunatics were to be housed in such institutions. At least one thing had been accomplished since that criticism was written, the movement had been drawn out of the framework of such contempt. Klausner's attitude reminded him of the English parliamentarian who said: "I do not know the government's motives, but I condemn them." Nor did Herzl ignore those who were willing to send Jews everywhere but to Palestine, because they believe "it is God's will that they shall some day go there."

To him it seemed that there was nothing wrong in giving the ancient folk-ideal of a Return to Palestine a political form. He struck out at both "charity" Zionists and at philanthropy generally, urged his auditors not to be afraid of the word "state" and to give consideration to a movement that "seeks to serve the poor, is inimical to none, and offers humanity some peace." Curiously, he said little of the "protest rabbis," one of whom attended one of his many conferences, but he did answer this class of opponents with his challenge, "I believe I can say we have brought something to Jewry, to youth a hope, to the aged a dream, to all hu-

manity a thing of beauty." A stormy debate followed, but the purpose was achieved.

Claude G. Montefiore afforded him perhaps a better opportunity for his favorite irony than did his German adversaries. Montefiore, always a consistent advanced advocate of "Liberal Judaism," had sent a paper to be presented in New York, on Zionism,¹ in which he frankly said, "The reformer . . . wants to denationalize his religion, to deorientalize it, that it may live and flourish in America." Practically he believed Zionism would only increase anti-Semitism, and indited clearly the anti-Zionist slogan, "The problem of the Russian Jews can be solved only in Russia." Moreover, "my own position toward Zionism is that of a convinced and determined antagonist."

Herzl counter attacked with vim in *Die Welt*.² He began with a tribute to Benjamin Disraeli, to whose romanticism Montefiore's generation owed so much. And then he adopted his favorite light scornful method of attack.

"How pleasant and delightful is it to think that the succeeding generation of Israelites have been estranged from their own people, because, thanks to the high note sounded by a Jewish poet, they experienced less moral suffering. Truly this is a case in which Jewish solidarity has its advantages for Anglo-Saxons of the Jewish persuasion with Italian names. They profit from the abrogation of prejudice which one of their own fairly brought about. At cricket at Eton or Harrow, at rowing at Oxford or Cambridge they wear the same colors as their fellow students. The yellow badge has disappeared."

How should such Jews, he asked, respond to the call of Zion.

¹*American Hebrew*, March 25, 1898.

²May 6, 1898.

"Do we not live in the best of all possible worlds? Do we not play cricket with the sons of the best known families? Do we wear the yellow badge? Do we not sit in the House of Commons as Whigs or Tories? Indeed, do we not often attain to the peerage? Do we not prosper commercially? And when our needs have been supplied, and our minds wander from earthly possessions, can we not provide ourselves with learned exercises?"

His bitterness found vent in a concluding sentence: "Is Zionism a necessity, Montefiore still asks? He who has no castle in England, is not in doubt."

During this period Herzl plodded somewhat wearily. He desired to go to the second congress with positive achievement—and the bank project, which he had entrusted to David Wolffsohn of Cologne, would not move forward with express speed. His pen flowed with complaints at the dilatoriness of his colleagues everywhere. His Viennese co-workers he regarded as inefficient, though every now and then he admitted that probably others would not do better.

He was fearful that the Austrian government would prohibit the executive committee, created by the congress, from functioning in Vienna as the head of an international organization. His first thought was to move the headquarters to Paris, and he sought to extract an agreement from Nordau that he would accept the presidency at the next congress. He wanted a specific undertaking from Nordau: "I would assure the continuance of the structure," he wrote him, "because a little of my blood cemented the first stones." The plan was impractical, owing to the Dreyfus agitation in which Nordau took a prominent part. As a consequence the latter was placed under police surveillance. The Jewish situation in Paris was so bad that Baron Alphonse de

Rothschild seemed for the moment to have been shocked into giving Herzl's ideas favorable consideration. Herzl correctly expected nothing from this quarter, though he felt it was his duty to try, "because I may not and will not miss anything." He wrote Zadoc Kahn a warning of the possible spread of anti-Semitism in France which, however, he expected would go unheeded: "My God, I already stand almost like an old prophet who is not listened to." Later he planned to move the organization center to Basle, but this project was not carried out.

Within the movement, there was still much struggle. The "Lovers of Zion" were seeking to stem the tide of desertion from their ranks, and in Russia they were aided by the doughty champion of cultural Zionism, Achad Ha'am (Asher Ginsburg), who, while opposing systemless colonization in Palestine, attacked Herzl's program on the principle that "the Redemption of Israel will come through prophets, not diplomats," paraphrase of a Biblical sentence hurled by the orthodox against the colonizing efforts of the "Lovers of Zion." However, these philippics were of no avail. The Jewish press was overcrowded with discussion, for which every passing incident added food.

The real center of public struggle was shifted to London, where the projected bank was to operate, and where Chief Rabbi Adler, who regarded Herzl's program as an "egregious blunder," signified his determined opposition to Zionism by ostentatiously participating in the artificial celebration of the millenary of the Anglo-Saxon King Alfred, which fact did not prevent his own son, Alfred, from later becoming a Zionist. Herzl's lieutenants in London had so often threatened a break with the "Lovers of Zion" that a

conference—a miniature Basle congress—was held, which even in its preliminaries evoked stormy discussion in many important organizations. The Zionists were annoying the antis by “still hankering after the mummerly of a government” for “heterogeneous immigrants who have never had training in self-government,” but they went right on, and at a public conference registered their judgment “that the national idea is an essential and an integral part of the Zionist movement.” They followed this up by a resolution that eventually demolished the English “Lovers of Zion” organization and gave the political Zionists a clear field.¹

But the language of the victorious resolution, urging “all Zionist bodies to combine with the Central Committee appointed by the Basle Congress,” did not wholly satisfy Herzl, who, though he acknowledged that “a victory of wide importance” had been won for the movement, was jarred by the final clause of the resolution, which left a door open to the defeated by allowing the next congress to decide where the future seat of authority should be established.

The policy of colonization by infiltration came practically to an end. “Practical” Zionism was not dead, but though the issue was re-opened in Tarnow, Galicia, and again at the second congress, the London conference gave Herzl the power which he was not slow to use when the occasion arose. Though some of its leaders in western Europe lingered on the scene, the Paris Central Committee eventually disappeared with the men of London, Paris, and Berlin who had figured in the founding of the colonization movement. These results were, however, being achieved for the cause by

¹Official report of the Clerkenwell Town Hall Conference, March 1898.

faithful supporters; the leader's contributions were letters encouraging the faithful.

While still pressing for action on the bank, and planning for a future attack on that bulwark of Jewry, the congregations, he sketched a story in which the Jewish hero was to be the owner of a newspaper. He never developed this outline, but his brief sketch of its possible contents shows that he was dramatizing himself. Most of his thoughts passed through uniform stages. The germ of an idea presented itself either as the subject of a novel or of a possible drama. Sometimes it passed from novel to drama and again from drama to novel. Then the motive was translated into a concrete suggestion in his correspondence, and later became part of his official public policy.

Thus he also conceived a Biblical drama, "Moses," based on Exodus 15, the chapter that contains Moses' song of victory after the crossing of the Red Sea, but the theme was to be "the tragedy of a leader of mankind who is not a misleader." He never wrote the drama but the theme found its way into many of his subsequent speeches. In some of these thumbnail sketches of stories, plays, etc., he more clearly visualized his difficulties than in his active leadership. Whether the writing banished them from mind, or his will suppressed them from further consideration, it remains true, that having indicated serious obstacles, he proceeded thereafter to ignore them.

He had little time for literary effort, for at this period all his spare hours were taken up with the thankless task of shaping the Zionist organization. He sought a way out of the complex system which was evolving almost automatically. To his mind, as we have seen,

the congress was a national assembly, created by elected delegates. He believed the Zionists in every country should be independent and autonomous, subject to congress declarations of policy rather than to legislative acts, thus keeping the movement technically out of the international field, leaving him at the head of a purely political cabinet. As the separation of finance and politics was vital to his ideal policy, he thought the bank, among other things, would meet that problem; but events produced the exact opposite, and all his endeavors to plan his ideal organization failed to fructify. Indeed, he could make little headway in this direction, because his associates were even doubtful about convening the second congress so soon. From their point of view the organization had not sufficiently matured for another gathering. The movement was growing so rapidly that they, who could not afford to be as active, daily, as Herzl, saw themselves frustrated from directing the organization if another congress were held in August.

Herzl was, however, obdurate. He wanted to establish the bank through the congress, to re-align his forces, and to make the *Welt* a financial success. Though by May, 1898, it achieved a circulation of ten thousand copies, an unusually large circulation for such a publication, it was still costing him too much money.

That spring the international executive convened in Vienna for the first time, and the Russian Zionists immediately showed their disagreement with Herzl's fundamental policy. They wanted more practical effort in Palestine, less diplomacy. Herzl won, and incidentally rid himself of the support of an Austrian Rabbi, Dr. Kaminka, who from the first sat on both sides of the fence, and who now sought in the difference between

political and practical Zionism to create an opposition to the leader. Kaminka issued a brave call to arms to all those "Lovers of Zion" who would not rally to Herzl, but he speedily disappeared from the scene, after having been publicly branded as disloyal. The antis were not slow to make capital out of such incidents. They even had their journalist spies in the Zionist camp, and did everything possible to foment disaffection, particularly in Russia. But Herzl more than held his own, though he said, "We are like the soldiers of the French Revolution who went to battle without shoes and stockings."

The means for his great program were still largely lacking, but while his associates were doubting the wisdom of convening a congress Herzl was drawing a design for a permanent congress building in Basle. Little wonder that to him others did not appear to move. When his mind caught an idea, he shaped it instantly and sought to give it life. He did recognize, however, the reality of the progress that had been made. The Pentecostal entry in his diary was satisfactory. "Yesterday was three years that with my visit to Baron de Hirsch began the Zionist movement. Today it is a world embracing movement." And frequently he mused on the fact that he had given an unknown word, "Zionism," world-wide currency.

The sweep of the movement was growing daily. It extended by May, 1898, to South Africa, and every responsible Zionist was busy organizing and formulating policies. In a somnolent world some elements had become passionately eagerly alive. Night after night, in a hundred European cities, propagandists were arguing and opponents disputing. The ferment was producing

more than debate on Zionist possibilities. Jews were beginning to think in terms of public policy. Recognizing that he had created this upheaval, Herzl endeavored to create a Zionist point of view on all Jewish questions. Thus one week he urged the Zionists to protest against the policy of the Jewish Colonization Association, which had ceased to open up new areas in the Argentine, and the next week he induced the Executive Committee to press the Zionists to raise funds for the mitigation of the sufferings of the Galician Jews.

Even the war between the United States and Spain, instead of detracting interest enhanced it. Under the pressure of re-aroused racial consciousness, Jews found themselves directly interested in this struggle against an old adversary, and there were not wanting Zionists who, to avenge old Jewish wrongs, sought to enlist in the United States army. Some of these volunteers came for this purpose even from as far away as South Africa, and to Herzl's keen delight were lauded at Zionist gatherings on their westward path.

V.

More than four hundred delegates came to the second congress held in Basle, August 28, 29, and 30, 1898. These delegates came literally from the four corners of the earth, most of them elected by constituencies fully alive to the differences in Jewry, and more particularly to the differences which had been developed within the Zionist ranks. Women were in evidence. But what was most impressive was the presence of Russian-Polish rabbis, and Galician chassidic rabbis, in caftans and gaberdines, together with rabbis like Gaster and Rulf, who spanned the experiences of the Jews in half a dozen

countries, and "crown rabbis,"¹ all mingling and seeking common ground. Hundreds of visitors flocked to the Swiss town. "It is almost impossible for anyone prom- enading the streets of Basle to forget that this city is again to be the scene of a Zionist congress," so ubiquitous seemed the badge-bedecked Jews.

To them by sheer accident came a new experience. The Zionist flag was formally displayed from the windows of the Stadt Casino, in which the congress met just at the hour when the students of Basle, in picturesque armor, passed in a pageant celebrating the return of St. Jacob from his victory over the Armagnacs on August 26, 1444. Herzl and his friends, watching the procession with its flags, saluted, and the Swiss youth in return, as they passed the Jewish national flag, "shouted with all their might, 'Hoch die Juden' (long live the Jews) a sentiment that unhappily would be expressed in few civilized countries at the present time," wrote one observer; "a cry heard for the first time in thousands of years," wrote another. Herzl commented on this rare incident in his congress address. "A good many of us must have had our eyes filled with tears of joy. One can lose his composure at such a moment, especially among people who are accustomed to all kinds of oppression." That incident was the keynote of the congress.

To the majority of the delegates, present for the first time, it was another reunion of the race. "The spirit that reigns supreme," wrote another observer, "is the spirit of re-united Jewry, the spirit of re-awak-

¹In each city in Russo-Poland the government recognized at least one layman whom it held responsible for the conduct of Jewish communal affairs. The "crown rabbi" was therefore a political not a religious official.



FACSIMILE OF DELEGATE'S CARD ISSUED AT SECOND
CONGRESS.

ened nationalism. This it is that swallows up every other feeling." Herzl was too preoccupied to record more than that the opposition to him had melted away and that by good strategy he had put through his principal measures. His non-Zionist critics noticed that "the affection in which Dr. Herzl is held by the Zionists, has, if this is at all possible, increased since last year." Another writer described the adulation of his followers.

"By a mere wave of his hand, by a mere gesticulation, he not only restored order, but restored good humor. He seems ready for any emergency, and able to overcome everything. . . . Here then is the secret of his position in the movement; he had faith unbounded, undying in the cause. It is the kind of faith which one sees and feels as something actually tangible."

The congress was as full of incidents as of new personalities. There came Bernard Lazare, an unemotional French philosopher, fresh from his aid to Dreyfus—and was idolized. There came Gaster, with a genius for presiding, extraordinary linguistic attainments, and an oratorical ability unsurpassed, who boldly started a discussion of religious Jewish culture. There was Leo Motzkin, of the Russian group, who as a "democrat," had at the first congress challenged Herzl's authority, and who brought straight from Palestine a scathing denunciation of the Rothschild administration of the Palestinean colonies, thus exploding the pretensions of the "Lovers of Zion." There came a few Austrian and German avowed opponents of Herzl to suffer overwhelming defeat. There came also that strange figure, Marcou Baruch, fire-eating, penniless student, who had converted Lombroso to Zionism,

crossed the Alps on foot to attend the congress, and threatened to raise an army and seize Palestine by force.

And to the congress also came the first news of the Czar's Rescript on Peace—a report that only the adroitness of Herzl could prevent becoming a bombshell once it had become part of the transactions of a congress crowded with the Czar's subjects. There were brilliant sessions, dull and prolix sessions, even stormy scenes, and an all night session to finish the business in hand. "The Zionist congress is no longer a Zionist assembly, it has become a Jewish parliament; every conceivable Jewish problem has been flung on the carpet," wrote one bewildered observer. "Enough doctors to staff a hospital, enough professors for a university faculty," Italians, Americans, English, Dutch, German, Russian, Polish Jews—"our cosmos"—with orthodox rabbis kissing Herzl's hand, and other rabbis publicly blessing Max Nordau.

Above all towered Herzl. "At the opening of the congress he received an ovation such as is seldom accorded crowned heads." At the end of Herzl's opening address a critic wrote, "The pen fails to do justice to the intensity of feeling and fervor which it evoked." At the close of the all night session when, after having invoked God's blessing on the leader, the venerable Rabbi Rulf led the cheering, this same observer wrote for his anti-Zionist journal:

"It is difficult, writing under the impression of the grand scene I have just witnessed, to do justice to the magnificent demonstration which followed on Dr. Rulf's appeal. . . . Dr. Herzl appeared visibly affected, and looked every inch a King as he faced his audience for the last time this year."

There was, indeed, a rare note in Herzl's response

to this final show of overwhelming confidence. "Zionism is no longer a sad necessity, as has been said, but a glorious ideal. The Jews are in a state of migration. Their moral migration has begun; wherever they go, may it be to light on better days. . . ."

In his opening address, Herzl came back to first principles. The fact that official German Jewry was bitterly opposing Zionism because he had used Zion as a weapon against anti-Semitism, was only a reason for making his position still more clear.

"At first this new Jewish movement appeared to many, to the world, as strange, inconceivable. Some regarded it as a spectre of past ages. For the Jewish nation was dead and had disappeared. But we had a dark experience before we were conscious that this was not true. For death is the end of all suffering; how comes it then that we suffer? The maxim of the philosopher is thus reversed, 'I suffer, so I exist!' And gradually from wrong to wrong this knowledge took firmer form, until the popular self consciousness completed existence.

"Let us not forget, even in our days, darkened by anti-Semitism, that a great-minded epoch has gone before, in which all cultured peoples gave us equality of rights. The will undoubtedly was a good one, but the result was certainly ineffective. Whose fault was it—ours or theirs? Probably both, or perhaps the fault lay in those circumstances of yore, which could not be removed by laws and regulations. The laws were more friendly than the habits of the people. We experience the re-action. . . . The historical import of emancipation cannot be that we should cease to be Jews, because we are pushed back whenever we wish to mingle with other peoples. The historic import of emancipation must be . . . that we prepare a home state for our freed people."

Herzl sounded a note of battle:

"An ideal like ours cannot always depend on the understanding of leaders of culture and on the considerations of use-

fulness of the Rabbis. Nearly everywhere the vast masses are for us. These form and maintain the community; therefore they must be reasoned with. We have avoided emphasizing the antagonism between leaders and flocks out of brotherly consideration. But it is time to alter our attitude. It cannot continue much longer that in enlightened Jewish communities an agitation should be carried on against Zion. . . . We must once and for all put an end to it. In all places where the official heads of the community are not with us, an election campaign should be started against them."

After this challenge he returned again to anti-Semitism and its radical results.

"The worst is neither the shedding of blood nor the desolation of homes, nor the insults—these disturbances are working havoc on the ill-treated soul of our nation. They constantly undermine the sense of right and of honor; they transform our people into enemies of a step-motherly society, in which such conditions can prevail. Let us not wonder when the most proletarian among proletarians, the most desperate of all mankind, are to be met with among all revolutionary parties. . . . It may be expected of far-sighted statesmen that they recognize the social danger which is to be found in the unsolved Jewish Question."

The answer was to afford the Jews an opportunity for re-integration and re-construction.

"We are ready to bring about the reconstruction of Jewry; we have everything in abundance—men, material, and plans. What we require is the building site; truly, the site which can serve us is a peculiar one. No spot is so coveted as this; it has been so eagerly sought after by the various peoples that among them all it has withered. We believe however that this desolate corner of the Morning Lands has not only a past, but also a future, like ourselves. . . ."

And here he set his limitations of his idea of a Jewish State. He wanted that land, Palestine, for the Jews, "who are not a political power, and will never again be

a political power." Internal autonomy, not external power, was what he sought.

"This country will in a short time become a route for civilization and commerce to Asia. Asia is the diplomatic problem of the next decade, and we may perhaps, with all modesty, remind the world that we Zionists, who are looked upon as impracticable, have anticipated by a few years this coming development of the European thirst for conquest."

He was thinking a decade ahead of events. His program was clear. The bank that was the cornerstone of his policy at that congress should be established to make his vision possible. And in this vision there was nothing improper or harmful, nothing but "the opportunity for labor for our poor people." Was the attitude of the Basle students who greeted the Zionist congress delegates a sign of better days to come? What were the better days they sought? Not a new social order, but a righteous one. These were the better days he sought:

"Better days for us, yes, but also for the rest, whose sacrificing pioneers on unmade roads we shall one day appear to have been. For this we require no higher, no legendary state of culture, no other than that which exists; what is needed is to employ the means of culture available for the benefit of humanity. And we believe our people will understand this because it has passed through so many schools, has lived among so many nations; has suffered among them all, but it too has witnessed their suffering. The assembly of men of various degrees of culture such as is assembled here seems to us a vision of better times. . . . The ill success of our efforts at assimilation, which caused us to assemble still leaves us with a power of adaptability which will ultimately serve as a blessing. The activity of the Germans, the graceful mobility of the Latins, the patience of the Slavs, have not passed us without leaving some traces behind. Can one see what we aim at? Jewish artists, philosophers, and scientists from all countries, united on the common ground of labor and in a tolerant so-

ciety. Yes, we aspire to our old land. But in that land we only seek another burgeoning of the Jewish spirit."

Nordau's address again was a brilliant epigrammatic picture of Jewish suffering throughout the world, a dark picture with a ray of light. The Dreyfus case was in process of reconsideration. Of the Jewish attitude on the matter, Nordau spoke in terms that still burn:

"Judaism being attacked in its corporate capacity, it should have resisted as a body. As a happily acquired right was to be wrenched from the French Jews they should have risen, like one man, to hold on to what was theirs. But nothing of this happened. . . . Judaism allowed itself to be told, 'all Jews are traitors by nature,' and did not find one word of reply. . . . Jewish names which I do not care to bring to my lips, because they corrode my tongue like sulphuric acid and bile, Jewish names are to found in fearfully large numbers among the literary brigands who attacked Zola and his fighting companions. . . . There you have that famous Jewish solidarity!"

Denying that anti-Semitism was a passing phenomenon, Nordau said:

"Zionism has awakened Jewry to new life, morally through the national idea, materially through physical training. But Zionism also makes a sharp division between the living and the dead; only now can we estimate the fearful devastation which eighteen centuries of captivity have wrought in our midst. For the first time since the struggle of Bar Cochba (133) does there exist among the Jews an inclination to show themselves, and to show to the world, how much vitality they still possess."

Scorn of all opposition, coining a new term of contempt for indifferent Jews, "bauch Juden," (stomach Jews) mordant sarcasm, a challenge, and prayer—Nordau ran the full gamut in support of the cause.

The bank project, which was submitted by David Wolffsohn, for whom Herzl had willingly acted as press agent so that his personality should become prominent in the movement, was accepted and adopted, after a long and unreal struggle as to whether the lands, "Palestine and Syria," should be specifically named in the memorandum.

Herzl occasionally baffled his critics by inducing them to debate a presumed difference of opinion with himself to the point of exhaustion, and then gracefully yielded the victory. With a clearer definition of the Palestine immigration policy, and a real organization, better manned than in the previous year, and the bank project approved, the congress adjourned. Its greatest gain perhaps was that orthodox rabbis of Eastern Europe had accepted Herzl's leadership without a single concession on his part on any matter whatsoever. He stepped guardedly over the invisible "eggs" he had itemized before he went to the first congress, with even greater success at the second. No Jew in unnumbered generations had achieved so much power, and no group of Jews had been so self-inspired, or afforded so much spiritual exaltation as those who attended the second congress.

The front of the pro-Palestinean movement had been wholly changed.

"Hitherto the national ideal has meant that Western Jews helped Eastern Jews to settle in Palestine; henceforth it was to mean that Western Jews were to work together with their Eastern brethren for the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine, in which not a section of the people but the whole people should be represented."¹

The complete check of the policy of colonization by

¹Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, pp. 328-9.

infiltration, which was essential to Herzl, was evidence of the completeness of his victory. Herzl was at no time opposed to the settlement of Jews in Palestine. What he opposed was their settlement without legal title to lands, and without guarantees of proper protection. In 1896, again in 1897, and again in 1898, he offered to aid the Jewish Colonization Association, the Anglo-Jewish Association and others in obtaining legal possession of tracts for settlement. He was prepared to use "backstairs influence" in order to have the front door opened to him and his fellow Jews. But he did not propose that either they or he should enter the Promised Land surreptitiously. To the "Lovers of Zion" colonizing was an end in itself, though not the final conclusion of the matter. To Herzl it was merely one of the means to a great end. And for the time being his view prevailed.

CHAPTER IX.

WHEN THE KAISER RULED

Interview with Grand Duke of Baden—Told to draft constitution—William II favorable—Negotiations with German Cabinet Ministers—Addresses 15,000 Jews in London—Invited to Meet William II in Jerusalem—Confers with Emperor in Constantinople—Deputation received in Jerusalem.

FROM that day, in 1896, when he went to the Vienna Opera House to study the personality of William II, Herzl amid all his pre-occupations, and despite his pronounced pro-British leanings, determined that the Kaiser, then "the most interesting man in Europe," must be the central figure of his "combination." He had threatened the Parisian Rothschild with his Kaiser theory, he had requested the Grand Duke of Baden to obtain an audience for him, and while he looked hither and yon for every possible avenue of accomplishing his end, he turned always to the Emperor as the most practicable medium for influencing the Sultan. It was not merely that Herzl, following the current political situation, felt that the Emperor's influence with the Sultan was of the utmost importance to the success of his policy, but the Kaiser's legendary "instanter" and the wide range of interests that he sought to bend to his own concept of a great empire accorded with Herzl's way of thinking and acting.

"A young man very much in love sees his sweetheart under every passing bonnet," he wrote of his own ability to draw all circumstances and experiences to his single

purpose. Moreover, the Kaiser was young enough to grasp a new idea, and Herzl was not mistaken in thinking that there was that quality of grandeur about his concept, which may have been ignored by the Jews, but would be acceptable to a monarch who loved daily to review the world from China to Peru and enjoyed playing an ostentatious part in all human concerns.¹ The Emperor's versatility, and the innate theatricality which suggested the pilgrimage to Palestine, coupled with a shrewd appreciation of the value of pageantry in international politics, all marked the line Herzl felt compelled to pursue. Bismarck had treated the *Jewish State* contemptuously, but then Bismarck had said of the Jews in 1870, "Their fatherland is Zion, Jerusalem. Outside of that they belong as it were to the whole world, and hang together all over the world." The anti-Semitic Iron Chancellor had ceased to rule, and Herzl did not believe that the new chancellor controlled the Imperial will.

The methods employed by the Emperor in forcing his imperialist policies upon both the German people and upon Europe, suggested to Herzl that William II was possessed of that mentality which would respond best to a face to face discussion of the Zionist plans. He had little faith in written reports. At all times he placed great reliance on the tone in which things were said, and from the Emperor he expected a characteristic definite gesture rather than a ponderous written agreement. His belief in personal discussion and in the impression he could create guided him in his quest for audiences with potentates and their ministers. In this he was justified,

¹The Kaiser's anti-Semitic attitude, his participation in the Delitzche Hammourabi anti-Mosaic propaganda, was entirely ignored by Herzl.

for however difficult it might be to obtain an audience, once he was in the presence of a monarch Herzl was at greater ease than when seeking the individual support of a fellow Jew. He had the court manner, a knightly presence, and the sweep of thought that accorded with high diplomacy. He was never dazzled by pomp or ceremony, though he admitted that on occasion he was weakened by flattery. It was natural to him to go direct to the issue, deprecate details, and maintain a discussion on a high level. These were his gifts. They made him a statesman rather than a political leader.

His first direct approach to William II for an audience was in a letter forwarded through the Grand Duke of Baden. It is dated October 22, 1897, and begins with characteristic directness. "As a result of the publication in the early part of 1896, of my book the *Jewish State*, a movement known as the Zionist movement has been called into existence." The answer was that the Kaiser was then too busy to receive him but would gladly read Herzl's pamphlet on the Basle Congress, an offer that amazed the ever-opposing owners of the *Neue Freie Presse*. His two visits to Berlin in January and February, 1898, were in part designed to facilitate his contacts. Lucano, the chief of the Imperial Court Cabinet, told him, "the Emperor knew all about Zionism," and this bureau chief added, "it is fine and great, but the Israelites will not desire it."

In May he renewed his efforts through Hechler. Again came the same answer, the Kaiser was too busy. In June the newspapers began seriously discussing the Kaiser's proposed visit to Palestine, a land, according to one of his eulogists, "consecrated in his eyes by his father's previous wanderings." This was too thin an

explanation of the pilgrimage. William II revered his grandfather, and ignored his parents. There must be other and more practical reasons for the Oriental trip. Herzl immediately took advantage of the discussion. In a public statement he allowed it to appear that he believed the Germans could not expect to obtain Palestine for themselves, nor could any other nation. It was a no man's land, and at the same time territory of international interest. He even allowed himself to be interviewed and said things that in his judgment would irritate the Emperor. But for a time there was no reaction, and Herzl went to Basle seriously disturbed as to the international political situation.

An hour after the Second congress adjourned an exceedingly gracious message was received from the Sultan. What was on foot in Constantinople? The Grand Duke of Baden, who had promised to discuss the German Emperor's approaching visit to Palestine, gave Herzl a detailed answer in Mainau the day following. The German government had inquired in Constantinople as to the Sultan's attitude toward Zionism, and the answer had been the "Sultan regarded it favorably." The German Ambassador, Baron von Marschall, who was in high favor there, since Germany had supported Turkey in the Cretan question, had put the question directly to the Sultan. A full report of the Zionist movement had been prepared for the Emperor, who had directed Prince von Eulenberg to study it carefully and submit his views.

Such a statement made a profound impression on Herzl. In the Jewish world he was constantly baffled by the raising of what was to him a meaningless issue. Were the Jews a religious sect or a nationality? In all

his conferences with non-Jews this polemical attitude was not only missing, but if we may so phrase it, the secular existence of the Jews was taken for granted. Political authorities apparently never heard of this debate, nor did they in any way argue the desirability of the idea launched by Herzl. That in Germany governmental authorities were keenly aware of Jewish indifference to the Herzlian propaganda we have seen, nevertheless here, too, Herzl had distinct if theoretical support. There remained therefore as far as his diplomatic efforts were concerned only two concrete problems. One, provided the exigencies of international politics rendered the act opportune, could the powers be induced to exert such pressure on Turkey as would produce the desired result. The second problem was, bluntly, the price of Turkey's consent to the creation of the Jewish homeland. The impressive fact to Herzl at this moment when the declarations of the Basle Congress were still ringing in his ears, was that shrewd German statesmen had concluded that the time for action was almost ripe. As Herzl listened he had to command his emotions. Victory seemed too near.

"If the Emperor says a word to the Sultan it will certainly be taken to heart." The Grand Duke coupled with this enthusiastic remark the suggestion that Herzl draw up a constitution in order to obtain from Turkey the right form of security. The Sultan should retain his Suzerain power, perhaps in the form in which Turkey had maintained it in Europe in the days of the Danubian principalities. "What will result in one generation it is impossible to foretell," added the Grand Duke smilingly. There was one difficulty. The German government feared that the Jews in political campaigns would regard

its pro-Zionist attitude as anti-Semitic. The Parisian Rothschild had, during the attacks on the Jews in Algeria, threatened to leave France if the government did not restore order. A new governor was thereupon sent to Algiers. Germany did not want a similar threat of exodus on the part of its Jewish millionaires.

Herzl who knew how little likelihood there was of such a threat being made, countered with the observation that all Jews were not expected to migrate to Palestine, and suggested that Palestine needed a protectorate, and if aided in the task, that favorable position might be given to Germany over a Palestine that would be a vehicle for German culture in the orient. He had a handful of weapons which he used easily—German writers of Jewish origin, the congress language, and the general Jewish acceptance of things German—but this time shaped at the right forge. The Grand Duke responded by unveiling the secret picture of current European politics. Herzl absorbed every detail of this information.

The pilgrimage, had become a tour, beginning with a visit to the Sultan in Constantinople, then to Palestine, returning through Egypt, "another vassal state" of Turkey. Germany, which now felt itself to be the strongest power in Europe, was about to play politics, and in the Near East, where Bismarck had been prevented from entering by Disraeli. The reference to Egypt as "a vassal state," when practically it was under British occupation, evidently denoted that behind the pilgrim's hood there would be more than the face of an Imperial commercial traveler. The commercial prospects of Syria might interest the Germans—they had already been pushing their way into Palestine with small Templar settlements and German co-operative colonies in

Haifa and elsewhere—but this evidently was a means, not an end.

The English began to worry at this new imperial challenge and the *Fortnightly Review* noted “that they are making some interesting calculations in the Fatherland lately as to the number of its children who could conveniently dwell in Syria and Palestine.” Germany, then, as Herzl saw it, had an eye on Palestine, and Germany in undisputed possession would mean an end to all Zionist pretensions.

The situation, if he could get to the emperor, was almost ideal for Herzl. He was playing for a high but not an impossible stake. His claim to Palestine for the Jews at this juncture was a master stroke. Kitchener, General Wilson, and others had for two decades looked eagerly upon Haifa as the rail head of the “shortest way to India.” France, suffering from a political upheaval following the Dreyfus affair, could not turn to foreign affairs and assert seriously her historic protectorate over Syria. Russia, which had muddled temperamentally in the Near East, was suddenly benumbed by a Czar, who, though master of untold armies, wanted world peace. Russia would not take up arms either against a German or a Jewish expansion in Palestine. England would certainly support the Zionists against a German venture in the neighborhood of the Suez Canal—even the avowed leading anti-Zionists in England were willing for the moment to drop their horror of Herzl if he would save Palestine from Germany, and for England. If he could win the Emperor he could achieve a coup de main.

The Emperor, the Grand Duke repeated, was enthusiastic; and there were no limits to the Emperor’s influence in Turkey. Herzl was clearly in the domain of

practical politics; "a dream" was "suddenly realizing itself" because he, with his Jewish State, had arrived at the cross roads of international policies at the opportune moment. These instruments were to Herzl's liking.

Without the slightest delay he turned to the German ambassador in Vienna, Prince Philip von Eulenberg,¹ who as a poet and writer maintained friendly relations with the litterateurs of Vienna. He asked by letter for an interview, and his letter reached the ambassador a day or two before the Emperor was to arrive in Vienna for the funeral of the Austrian Empress Elizabeth, whose assassination had shocked all Europe. Herzl feared this tragedy would postpone everything. Fate, however, was dealing kindly, for the ambassador telegraphed him to come to the embassy. The act was significant. Germany was taking a lead in the management of Zionist affairs.

Prince von Eulenberg, then fifty-five years old, a Prussian with an immobile face, and a pair of steel-blue eyes that were expressive only when he chose to make them so, began the discussion with startling abruptness. The soil of Palestine, he said, was without humus, and Turkey might be unwilling, even distrustful of the immigration of two million people. The Sultan, moreover, might have reason to fear such a settlement. Herzl explained the Zionist position. The Prince listened. The movement he admitted was to him a new political manifestation and he was merely carrying out instructions. What did Herzl seek? What should the Emperor do in Constantinople? Should he tell the Sultan to give the Zionists the land and autonomy?

Herzl did not want so much. The Emperor should merely pave the way for negotiations between himself

¹Not to be confused with August Eulenberg, Prussian Court Marshal.

and the Sultan. Permission to immigrate would not satisfy him. He stood square on the Zionist platform. The Zionists, he added, would not accept the land without autonomy. Herzl pressed his more immediate issue—an audience with the Emperor. The Ambassador doubted the expediency of it being granted while the Emperor was in Vienna. His time was too limited and he was too preoccupied.

Herzl changed his tone. "Our movement exists," said he; "I expect that one or the other of the Powers will support it. Originally I thought it would be England. It was in the nature of the case. I am, however, more sympathetic to the support of Germany. The Jews are at present overwhelmingly influenced by German culture." He evidenced this with the same facts he had quoted to the Grand Duke of Baden. The steel-blue eyes responded. The Kaiser could not see him, but the Minister for Foreign Affairs, von Bulow, would, while in Vienna. Herzl left the Embassy elated, but when he reported the day's experience to the members of the Actions Committee they took it so much as a matter of course that he almost believed he had won only a small prize in the great international diplomatic lottery.

The Ambassador kept his word. Forty-eight hours later the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Prince von Bulow, who at that time was endeared to his imperial master, summoned Herzl. He was received by the minister in his private room, where his traveling trunks were still wide open. The informality seemed significant. Von Bulow had more of the Austrian than the Prussian in him. He was elegant, smooth and charming. Diplomacy was to him the real sport of Kings, and he played it with grace. He disarmed Herzl by discuss-

ing literature. He had read all of Herzl's writings, and he praised them. The Zionist problem seemed remote when the discussion began, but gradually the usefulness of Zionism as an anti-Socialist force became the center of the interchange of views. Herzl claimed Moses as an individualist who imposed that idea on the Jews after their socialist experiences in Egypt. The Jews were naturally individualists. More seriously he opposed Jews becoming socialists, because it de-Judaized them.

The minister deprecated the monotony of the socialist state. It would be like a poppy field in which the tallest plants would blossom conspicuously. Herzl capitalized the Zionist victories among the pro-socialist youth at the Vienna University, and made clear his aversion to all utopian schemes.

Von Bulow had noted the boycott of the *Neue Freie Presse* and the opposition of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, a newspaper also owned by Jews. He was more than superficially informed on the subject. He agreed that a large Jewish migration to Palestine would reduce anti-Semitism, and improve the lot of those remaining behind. The government, and in this he included the Emperor, was, if anything, philo-Semitic. There were many Jews they would not like to see leave Europe, but then these would probably remain there. He saw clearly that Herzl could expect but a small following in Central and Western Europe. The economically repressed in Eastern Europe would go to Palestine, and with them a few idealistic leaders from Western Europe.

Herzl urged him to be his spokesman and von Bulow countered with Disraelian phraseology. That was, after all, not the issue. "I see real difficulties only in the task of advising the Sultan to negotiate with you. Unques-

tionably he will be impressed by the Emperor's advice to do this. But we must move forward secretly, otherwise the whole combination will be upset." He opposed Herzl being received either in Vienna, or, as the latter eagerly suggested, that the Emperor give him an audience on his private train. Von Bulow finally refused to commit himself on this point, and Herzl left somewhat disappointed.

For hours that day he waited for a message, and finally went to Ischl, where a telephone message awaited him. The Ambassador had tried to reach him in Vienna, failed, and promised he would receive a message by mail. He felt certain that the Germans would press his cause in Constantinople, but he was strongly persuaded that princes had an excellent capacity for forgetting what they thought inconvenient.

II.

Engagements in London in connection with the bank compelled Herzl at this juncture to leave Vienna, but that circumstance forced him to do a useful thing. He wrote a letter to Prince von Eulenberg, in which, as reasons for being received by the Emperor, he again outlined his principal arguments in favor of Zionism. These were:

(1) Its reduction of the revolutionary tendencies among the Jewish youth. (2) The reduction of anti-Semitism by the migration of surplus Jews. (3) The gain to Turkey of an intelligent industrious energetic element, with the further advantage of monetary aid and an improvement in commerce. (4) The return of the Jews to the Orient which would raise the culture of Eastern lands and indirectly afford protection to the Christians in the East. (5) The possibility of building a railroad from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf without touching Russian soil.

The Jews, he pointed out, were the only people who could build this road without creating national jealousies. As he saw it, if it initiated the return of the Jews to the Promised Land, the Emperor's visit to Palestine would change the course of history. To this long letter, written on September 24, at the same desk, in Paris, at which he composed the *Jewish State*, he added his various addresses in Paris, Amsterdam and London.

He had to wait eight days for the answer. His Parisian visit was, if anything, depressing. Nordau discounted these German negotiations, and was embarrassed by the inroads Zionism was making on his time. Herzl proceeded to the Hague, and with Jacobus Kann, who as a professional banker assumed considerable responsibility in the founding of the Jewish Colonial Trust, visited the artist Joseph Israels, with whom he discussed Zionism. Late on October 2 he arrived in Amsterdam. The German Consul had been inquiring for him. Post haste he went to the consulate, but he had no identification papers with him at the moment, and it was with great difficulty that he obtained possession of the documents. There was a brief note from Prince von Eulenberg, and from the Grand Marshal of the Prussian court an invitation from the Emperor to be received—in Jerusalem.

His exultation passed quickly to depression. An Imperial invitation was a command. To accept it possibly involved his resignation from the *Neue Freie Presse*. This would be the end of the tether at which he had strained so often. This sacrifice, too, he would make, though he foresaw in detail all that might be involved. Automatically he acknowledged the invitation and engaged himself to go to Berlin to arrange details. At the back of his head was the idea that he might induce Prince

von Eulenberg to arrange for an audience in Berlin, but he doubted it. He took Wolffsohn and Kann into his confidence. They were elated and promised to push the bank plan, now more than ever of consequence, to success. Worry as to his personal position took the keen edge off the enjoyment of his achievement. Wolffsohn, who joined him in his trip to London, did much to encourage him.

He had not been in London since July, 1896, when the masses acclaimed him their leader. Two years of struggle had passed and his supporters were determined to show him the measure of the support they had won for the cause. The greatest hall in the East End of London was engaged for the occasion, October 3, 1898. Seven thousand five hundred people were seated inside; as many, guarded by police, remained outside. The triumphant organizer of this demonstration announced from the platform that "one-tenth of the Jewish population of the United Kingdom has assembled in and outside the hall to greet Dr. Herzl."

He had the Emperor's command in his pocket, he was blessed by orthodox rabbis, and lauded by that rare picturesque Father Ignatius, a monk of the Protestant order of St. Benedictine, who was beloved by the Jewish masses as a great spiritual personality and who moved freely among the Jews because he understood them. Calmly Herzl noted the impressiveness of this scene which his courageous championship of the Jewish cause had called into existence. He impressed the reporters. "With erect figure, clear-cut features, swarthy black beard, and keen eyes, his is certainly a commanding and impressive figure." Another pen picture:

"It was a remarkable meeting; of that there can be no doubt.

Zionist or anti-Zionist, whether one worshipped Herzl as a hero, or denounced him as a fanatic there could be no doubt that if ever a gathering under Jewish auspices in London could be termed 'great' the meeting at the Assembly Hall fully deserved that denomination . . . a tribute to the orderliness and gentleness of the Hebrews of the East End . . . a reception, it is safe to say, no Jew ever received before in this country from his co-religionists."

Nor did that limit the appraisal made by an anti-Zionist:

"So complete was the control that he exercised over the gigantic assembly, so breathless was the silence, when not interrupted by applause, that while the Zionist leader was speaking, the street noises were occasionally heard, notwithstanding the fact that there were so many thousands in the audience. My impression of Herzl, whom I saw for the first time, was that he is a strong man, a born leader, thoroughly in earnest upon the question he has made his own and fully alive to all criticism."

And at that moment he was suffering from a heart attack, while his mind was on the problem of imparting an adequate understanding of the Jewish yearning he had aroused to the German Emperor. He was far from overwhelmed by the laudations of his followers. He saw victory ahead, but he feared it would come too soon. The Jews were not ready for the coup he was meditating, the machinery of organization and the technique of the bank development were moving too slowly. His trip through Holland had suggested what man could do to conquer the sea, and as he traveled back through Germany to meet Prince von Eulenberg, he reflected on what man could do to conquer the sand. "So out of the sand wastes of our land we will make a beautiful country." He had to meet the prince at a hunting lodge at Liebenberg, in the

Mark of Brandenburg, and he was, he believed, the first Jew to enter the preserve. "The remarkable thing about this adventure is that I do not approach the heart of agrarianism as a depressed, crawling Jew, but as an up-standing Jew."

The Prince met him in a hunting costume, and surveyed his visitor. Herzl had tried to reflect in his attire that he came on business—he looked acceptable. The courteous reception was mixed with an ardent desire to impress Herzl that "he was speaking to a representative of a higher race." The Prince seemed to imply that he could properly have intercourse with the Jew, Herzl, who immediately made it clear that he expected no social courtesies in this princely hunting lodge. The Prince impressed upon him:

"The Emperor is very warm for your cause. I was fortunate in warming him, otherwise it would have been worthless. He must be either very deeply interested in a thing, or in the multitude of matters that come to him it soon loses all value in his eyes. I spoke about it in Vienna, and then again in Rominten, where I could speak at length."

Herzl paid the Prince a lavish compliment for his service, and the Ambassador accepted it completely.

"Yes," said he, reflecting on his own influence, "my standing with the Emperor enables me to say things to him, and see him more often than many others. Few can go as far as I can. Everyone comes up against some obstacle. I can come again and again back to the issue, and I have won. Luckily for your cause von Bulow, a statesman of the first rank, is also my friend and could be won over. The world will see extraordinary things done by von Bulow."

Herzl explained that he thought von Bulow had been

hesitant when they met in Vienna. The Ambassador thought that natural at a first meeting. He continued: "The important thing is not what he said to you, but what he said to me when I argued with him. I convinced him." All this was apropos the instructions Herzl was to be given as to the deputation the Emperor would receive in Jerusalem. Details were still lacking and Herzl was directed to report at Constantinople, where everything might be settled without a trip to Jerusalem.

The personnel of the deputation had to be arranged. No Palestinean could be accepted for fear of future persecution by the Sultan. A Hollander, Germans, and Austrians might go. British subjects seemed for the moment politically undesirable. As to Russian Zionists, Herzl improved the occasion by discussing with the Ambassador the persecution of the Zionists in Russia. The Prince agreed that Russian Zionists on the deputation were unthinkable. He spoke ironically of the Czar's idealistic interest in the Hague Peace Conference, but the Emperor could win him for Zionism. "As Russia has no opposition to the departure of the Jews, obstacles will not be erected there."

They plunged into the old question of the political segregation of the Holy Places, which gave the Prince an opportunity to express his confident belief that France was too weak to do anything seriously. But he went further and reported that "The Emperor had gone deeply into the question of establishing a protectorate over a Judaised Palestine."

William II did not doubt he could influence the Sultan to accept his advice and had concluded that he could easily justify to the German people his championship of the Jewish cause. The Ambassador spoke decisively. His

reservations were: "We can only desire it. The ultimate direction is in God's hands. We cannot at this juncture know whether we can go to the end. Germany will not go to war for Zionism."

The German government had evidently thought out every phase of the question; Herzl could only listen in astonishment. During the conversation the Ambassador received a telegram, and when Herzl incidentally mentioned that the Grand Duke of Baden had wired him in London that he had "important news," the Ambassador informed him that the Grand Duke would visit him next day. At his own suggestion Herzl was invited to remain within reach. He returned to Berlin to meditate while he waited for a message. He wrote to Wolffsohn: "An unusual circumstance that many men have not survived. A dream realized itself suddenly. . . . Kann must go with us." The Ambassador indicated that he believed it desirable to give publicity to the German attitude. The protectorate could not long be a matter of secrecy. He, therefore, favored giving the world notice that Germany intended to play a new role in the Near East.

"The protectorate! Many will shake their heads." Herzl accepted the idea doubtfully. "None of us dreams of becoming King, since I do not." The protectorate, as he mused over the prospect, had some advantages. German order and organization would be a good influence for Jews. It would speed up recognition. The suzerainty of the Sultan and a German Protectorate would provide sufficient pillars to afford the right and security involved in a homeland "secured by public law." But there was an alternative. Suzerainty with or without Protectorate. "Anyway, the great banking scoundrels

would hereafter have to treat with Zionism in a different fashion." Herzl was received by the Grand Duke in the Palace at Potsdam.

"The Emperor has studied the matter carefully. He is full of enthusiasm. This is not an exaggeration. He speaks of it with great vivacity. He would have already received you because there is confidence in you, but it is more advisable that he receive you in Constantinople and Jerusalem. The matter stands well. Ambassador Marschall has sent in a satisfactory report from Constantinople, and that is in itself an achievement. The Emperor believes that the Sultan will accept his advice. Our attitude in the Cretan question will convince the Sultan of the Emperor's good intentions. The Emperor has undertaken the negotiation and he will carry it through. He is enthusiastically for it."

Herzl listened as a man hearing a dream come true, yet suggested various difficulties. Russia was the greatest. Then the exterritorialization of the Holy Places; finally the transportation of poor Jews. The Grand Duke regarded Russia, too, as the difficulty. One had to be prepared for every eventuality in dealing with Russia. One had to travel far in negotiations with Russia, even as far as Siberia. The English Church was sympathetic to the cause, even if English politics had not yet mastered the problem. France, they agreed, could not oppose an accomplished fact. German indifference to the French army was part of this thought. The Grand Duke anticipated also opposition from the Catholic Church, which would regard a German protectorate as a gain for Protestantism.

The audience lasted one and three-quarter hours, and at the end the Grand Duke explained that he had merely done his duty. He would at all times be ready to give

counsel and aid. "He pressed long and warmly, my hand which I had forgotten to unglove. The lackeys stared after this long audience, and bowed profoundly as I left. This is not a new experience."

In agreement with the Grand Duke, Herzl repaired to the hotel, where Minister von Bulow was stopping, and notified the latter of his presence in Potsdam. There was a quick answer. He would be received in the Palace.

When Herzl entered von Bulow's salon he found Prince Hohenlohe, the Imperial Chancellor, present in full regalia and not at all sympathetic. He began by asking a question, a question that to Herzl's sensitive ears had an anti-Semitic nuance, "Do you believe the Jews will quit the stock exchange to go with you? The Jews who are well situated in Berlin?"

Herzl replied, "Not the rich but the poor."

How much territory did Herzl require—north to Beyrout, or beyond that? Herzl answered that the land requirements would be proportionate to the emigration. It would have to be purchased from the "mixed multitude" who owned these oriental lands.

"You wish to establish a state there?"

"We want autonomy and self-protection."

Prince Hohenlohe asked, "What does Turkey say to this?" Herzl answered that the Grand Duke had told him of Ambassador Marschall's report, and detailed the telegram the Sultan had sent him. Von Bulow denied all knowledge of the Ambassador's report. Herzl felt disconcerted, but controlled his expression. The Chancellor questioned him as to preparations that had been made for migration and the resources of the organization. He was obviously skeptical, but impressed that money might achieve the results. But there was a marked

difference between the end and the beginning of the interview.

Von Bulow made it clear that Herzl would be received only once by the Emperor, either in Constantinople or in Jerusalem, and broke up the session somewhat abruptly. Eulenberg's report of von Bulow's statements had not been confirmed. Was this merely diplomacy concealing its interest by formal indifference, or were the ministers, though opposed to the proposed Imperial adventure, fearful of crossing the Emperor's will? Herzl felt that the Chancellor expressed his hostility in the same form as the Papal Nuncio in Vienna.

He recalled, as he jotted down the details of the interview, that for a time the Chancellor's white feathered cocked hat, lying on the table, had been an obstacle to the Chancellor's opportunity for observing him. Unceremoniously the hat was removed and flung elsewhere. There was a ruthlessness about this gesture that was impressive. At best, the short, bent and aged Chancellor was in doubt as to the wisdom of the project. And von Bulow had remarked, "In any case, this will be the first migration eastward of the Jews. Hitherto they have always moved westward."

Herzl countered, "No, this, too, will be a westward movement. The Jews are around the globe. East is again West."

At which the two officials smiled. Herzl steeled himself. Princes propose and ministers obstruct.

III.

Back in Vienna he prepared for another fight with Bacher and Benedict of the *Neue Freie Presse*. But his grim forebodings were not realized. They opposed but

did not obstruct his carrying out the Kaiser's command "to travel with him to Palestine." As long as the *Neue Freie Presse* was not involved in the venture they could tolerate their colleague taking another vacation. Herzl had greater difficulty in organizing the delegation he was to head. His policy of secrecy irritated Nordau and Gaster into refusing to join him. Mandelstamm of Kiev was willing to go, but could not reach Vienna in time, and the members of the Actions Committee, who in principle had the right to join their president, could not go. Everyone could not do as Herzl did, suddenly jump out of routine occupations and proceed to Palestine.

Eventually he grouped Wolffsohn and Dr. Bodenheimer of Cologne; Dr. Schnirrer and A. Seidener, a Viennese engineer, completed the party.¹ Before he left for the trip he had his latest play, "Unser Katchen," read to the stock company of the Burg Theatre, thus casting a financial anchor windward. He still feared his adventure would cost him his position on the newspaper. His leave-taking from his parents and his family was no formality. He had been warned that he would probably be assassinated in Jerusalem.

Herzl left Vienna on October 13 deeply depressed. Nevertheless, he sent Newlinski to Rome to establish a contact which he believed would be necessary on the return journey. En route to Constantinople, on the Oriental Express, he found himself recognized by most fellow travelers. Discussion was difficult; nevertheless, with Dr. Bodenheimer's aid, he worked out the terms the Zionists would submit.

Territorially he sought to have the proposed state

¹But for the miscarriage of a cable message the author would have joined the group.

cover all the lands from the Egyptian frontier to the Euphrates. But as so large an area could not be immediately occupied by Jews, Dr. Bodenheimer suggested a long transfer period, during which Palestine would remain a Turkish dependency, by copying the method employed in the government of Egypt. Palestine should have a Jewish governor nominated by the Sultan, in whose name he would hold office. Every area was to have local autonomy, but as soon as the Jews in any district equalled two-thirds of the population Jewish administration was to become effective.¹

At first Herzl approved this transfer period, but eventually he determined not to press it, but reverted to his "Jewish State" idea. The Society of Jews should develop Palestine under "a charter." All these plans seemed to fade into thin air upon their arrival in Constantinople. The Turkish officials, on whom Herzl immediately made courtesy calls, were invisible, and Dr. Bodenheimer learned from the German Ambassador, Marschall von Bieberstein, that "he knew not Herzl," and anyway would not receive him then, as he was about to meet the Imperial yacht in the Dardanelles.

Herzl and his colleagues spent two distressing days in Constantinople. Dr. Bodenheimer had accidentally blundered by mentioning von Eulenberg to the Ambassador. The Emperor's favorite was disliked by von Bieberstein, and also apparently by Minister von Bulow. Herzl was for the moment the victim of these personal antagonisms. This only became apparent when, all other means of reaching the Emperor having failed, Herzl wrote a letter which Wolffsohn undertook to de-

¹From Dr. Bodenheimer's memoirs, *Jewish Morning Journal*, New York, September, 1921.

liver if necessary to the Emperor himself. This was a dangerous and difficult plan, but it was the only one, after a sleepless night of consultation, that seemed practical.

"At 8:30 in the morning the boom of cannon announced the entry of the Emperor in Constantinople. An hour later Wolffsohn who knew no word of Turkish or Arabic or French accompanied by a dragoman proceeded to Yildiz Kiosk, where the Emperor was staying. When Wolffsohn arrived in Yildiz he discovered that his dragoman was a police official. The Turkish guard would permit no one, however important, to pass. Wolffsohn went from entrance to entrance, but everywhere he was refused admission. 'I knew how much depended on my mission, and I took courage.' Drawing himself up to his full height, and speaking in firm military tones Wolffsohn directed the dragoman to translate for him: 'I must immediately attend my Emperor on a matter of the highest importance, and if you will not permit me to go alone, let a soldier accompany me. You will assume responsibility for every minute I am delayed.' A soldier was given him and he entered the Palace."¹

He asked for the Grand Marshal, Prince Eulenberg, and wrote on his card, "accompanying Dr. Herzl."

The Grand Marshal received him immediately and undertook to deliver the letter to the Emperor. But he declined to deliver a letter addressed to von Bulow, who when approached, was extremely curt to Wolffsohn. The situation was clear; Eulenberg was aiding and von Bulow was opposing Zionism because the former favored it.

Herzl had still to wait several hours before a messenger came with a note, "Theodor Herzl at 4:30 to report to his Majesty, Yildiz." For two and a half years he had struggled to reach that moment. Accompanied by Wolffsohn and a Jewish dragoman, Herzl rode to Yildiz and was admitted, observing with photographic accuracy

¹*David Wolffsohn, Memoir, by Abraham Robinsohn, 1921.*

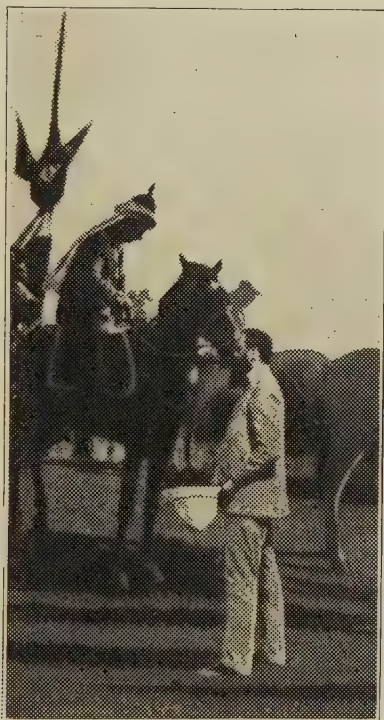
every detail of his surroundings. First the dragoman was dismissed by the guard; Wolffsohn was held in the courtyard; then Herzl was shown into an inner chamber, and there detained for over one and a half hours, under guard. Both Turkish and German officialdom feared an attack on the Emperor, and everyone was suspected.

IV.

"A white dress, the Empress! She had been standing, with von Bulow, behind a column and watched my entrance. I bowed, she thanked me and disappeared." A door was opened and Herzl entered the adjoining room.

"The Emperor, in Hussar uniform, approached me. I remained standing, and bowed deeply. He came towards me almost to the door and extended his hand. . . . He is about as tall as I am, and my first impression was that he is embarrassed at having a short arm. . . . I had anticipated that he would address me, and was therefore unprepared when he invited me to proceed."

But Herzl despite those penetrating eyes was soon at ease. He made mental note of the fact that the Emperor had seated himself at a writing desk and had crossed his legs, covered by his military boots, "like a man preparing to make himself comfortable for a long interview." The Emperor motioned him to a seat opposite, von Bulow took a chair beside him, and they conversed for more than an hour, with their silk hats between their knees. Herzl, as directed, began to state his case in well known and long prepared words, the Emperor staring steadily at him, and only now and then



HERZL GREETING WILLIAM II NEAR MIKVEY ISRAEL,
PALESTINE (FROM A SNAPSHOT).

by the flicker of an eye-lid, or the pressing of his lips, indicating the impression the Zionist leader was making upon him.

But Herzl was not long allowed to direct the conversation. Presently the Emperor began to take the lead in the discussion, and explained why he favored Zionism. He spoke in not too friendly a tone of the Jews.

"He did not doubt that with the financial aid and human power at our disposal we could succeed in carrying out the colonization of Palestine. . . . 'There are among your people (landsleute) elements it would be worth while to transfer to Palestine. I think for instance, of Hesse, where there are usurers among the farming population. If these take their possessions and settle as colonists they would become more useful.' "

His comparison of the Jews with a few usurers nettled Herzl, and he did not hesitate to express his views as to the causes of anti-Semitism. "That he could have identified the Jews with a few money-lenders angered me; my displeasure restored my self-possession."

Von Bulow took up the challenge involved in Herzl's remarks and pointed out that the Jews were ungrateful to the House of Hohenzollern, though they owed it much. The Emperor's grandfather had always been kind to the Jews, and notwithstanding this the Jews were in all the opposition parties; they were even to be found among the anti-monarchial group.

The Emperor interjected "Singer," referring to Dr. Paul Singer who, with Bebel and Liebknecht, organized and led German socialism for many decades. Herzl responded by pointing to the effect Zionism was having on the young radical groups.

The Emperor made it clear that he believed the Jews would participate in the colonization of Palestine when they knew he would take them under his protection, for then practically they would not be leaving Germany. Von Bulow added that the Jews would no doubt be grateful for this. To make his irony clear von Bulow pointed out that the rich Jews did not favor Herzl's views, and that the great newspapers, including the *Neue Freie Presse*, did not favor Zionism.

The Imperial approval was clear enough, but so was von Bulow's guarded opposition. To establish accord between the ruler and his minister, Herzl began pointing out that the position of France was so weak that she could not oppose the Zionist efforts, and that, therefore, the moment was opportune for action. France was one subject the Emperor discussed with fervor. He and his ministers were at that time giving serious attention to the royalist pretensions of Prince Napoleon, then an officer in a Russian regiment. Herzl pointed out that the French people did not know this prince, but what they did know was that entente with Russia had cost them eight milliard francs. It was characteristic of the situation that Herzl's supporting statement that Russian prestige had fallen, owing to the proposed disarmament conference, drew an almost audible laugh from the Emperor.

Public opinion in France had become thoroughly upset over the charges and counter charges that had grown out of the Dreyfus affair. Zola's famous "J'accuse" letter had been published in the *Aurore*, at least one of Dreyfus' accusers had committed suicide, and anti-Jewish riots had occurred in Paris. A new trial had been ordered for Dreyfus. All these incidents were in the

mind of the Emperor, his minister and Herzl when France came "on the carpet."

The Emperor's contempt for the French was frank. He called them "a crazy people" whom he had unsuccessfully tried to teach common sense. "All they see is the hole in the Vosges"—alluding to the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. A discussion of the Dreyfus affair followed. The Kaiser spoke energetically and freely. Herzl listened. Dreyfus was innocent.

"What kind of people are they?" exclaimed the Emperor. "Do they really think I am so crazy a fellow that I write such letters to the first comer—Hanotaux put 27,000 francs on the table for these forgeries. They offered them to him and this Richelieu, this great statesman, regarded them as genuine or acted as though he believed them genuine. It's unbelievable!"

These forged imperial letters were part of the case against the French Captain of Artillery.

Von Bulow joined in the discussion of the Dreyfus affair. Of all the French ministers Brisson alone escaped Imperial and Ministerial castigation. They had their own explanation of the Dreyfus incident and it was entirely creditable to Captain Dreyfus. The secret war chest of France according to their information was regularly embezzled by officers of the general staff. His fellow officers had offered Dreyfus 20,000 francs of this plunder, but he had refused to accept it. It then became necessary to remove him.

"I often ask myself," said the Emperor, "what will become of this land. It is indeed valuable. The French spirit is the basic spice, the pepper of all other cultures—the attic salt. Too much pepper is not good. But what will happen to France?"

Herzl thought the French would not seek war. Von Bulow agreed; the republicans could not afford it; victory or defeat would restore the monarchy. The Emperor philosophized; all that had happened in France showed that a republic was not the best form of government.

The conversation was skilfully brought back to Zionism. France could not oppose, and Russia would regard it as a solution of its problem. The Emperor referred somewhat ironically to the two hundred years of Jewish persecution in Russia, and thought the Jews would suffer most in France, for there anti-Semitism had "the church behind it, and the Jesuits do not give up what they have once started."

Herzl proceeded with his argument. He laid all his international political cards on the table and said at the end, "I do not know—I am so entangled, but the matter appears to me entirely natural." The Emperor gazing steadily at him responded, "To me also." Von Bulow interposed, "Yes, if those here (the Turkish Authorities) are willing. Probably you should see the Ministers"—while with thumb and forefinger he suggested the counting of money, and added aloud "here they all take."

The Emperor waived the suggestion: "It will surely make an impression when the German Emperor concerns himself about this and shows he is interested." The Emperor was speaking in the tones of the great overlord, which reminded Herzl "of the fabled animal which with a human voice exclaimed: 'I am the fabled unicorn.'" The Emperor continued: "Finally I am the sole supporter of the Sultan. He owes me something."

So the ground was laid! The formal address to be presented in Jerusalem was arranged for and then the

Emperor turned to Herzl. "Write out the address and give it to von Bulow. I will then correct it with him. Tell me in a word what I shall ask of the Sultan."

Herzl responded, "A chartered company—under German protection."

"Good! A Chartered Company! He gave me his hand . . . pressed mine heartily, and left the room by the middle door." The Imperial word was committed to the cause.

V.

Herzl and his associates crossed the Mediterranean on the *Imperator Nicholas II* more at ease than when they entered Constantinople. But they had no inkling of the Turkish attitude towards the Emperor's interference in their affairs, and still less how the Turks viewed the intrusion at this juncture of the Zionist deputation. Nevertheless the delegation regarded these traveling days as "halcyon" days. Herzl too gave himself freely to his new experiences. Alexandria, Smyrna, the wine colored sea, the quiet beauty and color impressed him. Not so Athens and the Acropolis, which thanks to the influence of classic literature was one of humanity's treasured spots. The Suez Canal impressed him more as an expression of human will power. At Alexandria they changed to a small vessel the *Russia*. The last night on board was exceedingly hot and at midnight Herzl betook himself on deck and slept under the stars.

"As the dawn came we began to look towards the Jewish coast. At about seven o'clock Wolffsohn pointed out the first signs of land—two hilltops to the right. With mingled feelings we gazed on the land of our fathers. Strange are the emotions which this desolate land arouses in most men."

But as Jaffa came in sight they had to consider other problems. The Turkish officials might refuse permission to land. Herzl prepared for every eventuality. Pushing a lady ahead of him, he sprang into the landing boat and learned that German police were on guard at the port. As soon as the boat touched land he leapt ashore, and while Turkish officials were inspecting baggage, Herzl, conversing with a German official, explained that he was present at the request of the Emperor and that his party with the "cork helmets" should be allowed to proceed at once. It was October 26.

"We were in Jaffa."

"Again poverty, and misery, and heat in sportive colors."

Herzl proceeded immediately to Mikveh Israel, the agricultural school founded by Charles Netter of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. He observed the devastated soil, and proceeded to the "much famed" Rischon le Zion.

"For a poor village it is rather well off. If one thought of it as more than a poor settlement one is readily undeceived. Deep dust on the roads and little green vegetation." The official reception was courteous but not cordial. The administrator feared Baron de Rothschild would not approve it. The colonists took matters in their own hands. But Herzl was not pleasantly impressed. He saw much misery, and Dr. Maze, the medical officer of the colony, explained that all the colonists were suffering from malaria. Only by drainage on a large scale could the land be rendered fit for habitation. "That will cost millions, but will create millions of new values."

From Rishon, Herzl proceeded to Wadi El-Chanin where the bread, salt, and wine of historic hospitality

were offered him. A cavalcade met them as they approached Rechoboth. The dash of young Jews on Arab horses moistened the eyes of Herzl and his comrades. These possible pedlers metamorphosed into dare devil riders won him. Rechoboth was a free colony, financed by its settlers. It turned out in mass to greet Herzl. There he received "a royal welcome." Despite the heat Herzl returned to Jaffa where he met Hechler and gave him a message for Grand Marshal von Eulenberg, to the effect that he would greet the Kaiser on the road to Mikveh next morning.

Combating an attack of fever, Herzl proceeded early next morning to the Agricultural School, but the director withdrew from any manifestation that would involve him in Zionism. Presently the imperial cavalcade drew near, and the Emperor recognizing Herzl immediately drew rein, and urged Herzl to approach. The Emperor bowed and extended his hand. They conversed a few moments to the astonishment of the Jews who had gathered there. A young girl stood by and listened. She understood no German. All she could answer was: "I heard but I did not understand." In Herzl's diary the brief conversation is thus recorded:

The Emperor said, "The land has a future."

"At present it is still sick," answered Herzl.

"It needs water, much water!" observed the Emperor.

"Canalization on a large scale," suggested Herzl.

The Emperor repeated, "It is a land of the future."

They shook hands again, the Empress nodded smilingly at Herzl, and then the cavalcade disappeared in the distance.

Still racked by fever, Herzl and his friends entrained for Jerusalem and to their annoyance arrived

several hours after the beginning of the Sabbath. His illness seemed serious but in twenty-four hours he had recovered. The beauty of Jerusalem in the moonlight impressed him but its religious clashes, and above all its dirt, depressed him.

"If ever we possess Jerusalem, and if at that time I am still active, I will have it cleansed. I will have everything that is not holy removed, will erect workmen's dwellings outside the old city, empty the dens of dirt, destroy them, burn the non-holy rubbish and move all bizarre things elsewhere. Following as far as possible the architectural style of the city I will erect a comfortable, ventilated, canalized new city around the holy sites."

Twice he and his associates visited the Wailing Wall. All except Herzl wept. He smiled and explained, "I am thinking of the beauty that can be created here." His stay in Jerusalem was however full of trouble. Jewish official circles were not sure how to act towards him. They were not ready to be involved in the Zionist program. The Zionist delegation therefore kept much to themselves, visiting under the guidance of Seidener all the important sites and institutions. Herzl was advised not to enter the Via Dolorosa, as there was strong feeling against Jews passing through the street but he refused to heed the warning. Nothing happened.

He saw Jerusalem from every angle and concluded that the old city could remain a Lourdes, a Mecca, indeed all that the word Jerusalem implied to the devout. A beautiful modern city could surround the historic one. He recurred to this thought repeatedly as he beheld the Dead Sea, from Olivet, or looked over the city from other heights. Jerusalem could be made into a jewel, a modern city surrounding the ancient one.



WAITING TO BE RECEIVED BY THE KAISER.

The Zionist Delegation outside of Jerusalem. Left to right—Dr. Max Bodenheimer, David Wolffsohn, Theodor Herzl, Seidener, Schirrer.

Herzl had forwarded the draft of his proposed address to Grand Marshal von Eulenberg. It was returned by Consul General von Tischendorf freely blue-penciled, with the admonition that all phrases objected to must be removed. Herzl was asked to prepare another clear copy and send it for approval to von Bulow. It was this carefully censored document that von Bulow now handed back to Herzl for formal presentation to the Kaiser. The gift of a specially bound set of photographs of the Palestinean colonies followed the presentation of the address.

November 2,¹ in the forenoon, Herzl and his colleagues were received in the Imperial tent outside Jerusalem. The Emperor was in Colonial uniform, helmeted, whip at his side. The Kaiser extended his hand. Herzl read slowly:

"A deputation of the Sons of Israel approaches the German Emperor with deep obeisance, in the land which once belonged to our fathers. By no accepted title of possession are we bound to this Holy soil. Many generations have come and gone since this land was Jewish. To describe it as such, is to recall a dream of ancient days. But the dream survives, it lives in hundreds of thousands of hearts. It was and it is a wondrous consolation to our poor nation in many hours that have been rich in suffering. There is something eternal in this thought which has freely twisted itself into the lives, customs, and habits of our people.

"The Zionist movement as it now exists is, however, completely modern. It joins the circumstance and conditions of modern life, and desires to utilize the possibilities of our times to solve the Jewish Question and indeed we believe that this can now be accomplished because mankind has become so rich in means of exchange, and in technical processes. Undertak-

¹It is an interesting coincidence that the Balfour Declaration, was issued on Nov. 2, 1917.

ings which only fifty years ago were deemed fantastic are now commonplace. Steam and electricity have changed the face of the globe. Results important to humanity flow from these inventions. We plan to establish a Jewish land corporation for Syria and Palestine which shall begin the work. Our idea threatens no man's rights or religious ideas. We understand and respect the religious emotions of all faiths for this country, in which too arose the faith of our fathers.

"This is the fatherland of ideals which are not the sole property of one nation or one faith. The higher men rise in civilization the more they recognize what is common to all ideals. And so out of the actual city of Jerusalem with its fateful walls there has arisen a symbolic city sacred to all cultured human beings. (Kulturmenschen)

"An Emperor of Peace attracts mightily in the eternal city! We Jews greet your Majesty in this high moment and with all our hearts wish that an age of peace and righteousness may dawn for all humanity.

"Here is the land of our fathers, suitable for colonization and cultivation. Your Majesty has seen the land. It cries for men to cultivate it. And we have among our brothers a terrible proletariat. These men cry for a land that they can cultivate. By a well planned unity of these two needs—the land and the people—we seek to create a new commonwealth. We regard this as so good, so well worth the participation of the great hearted, that we beg the high help of your Imperial Majesty.

"But we would not venture to do this if there were in our thought anything that could hurt or injure the Sovereign of this country. The friendship of your Imperial Majesty for his Majesty the Sultan is so well known that there can be no doubt as to the views of those who appeal to your most gracious Majesty to convey their wishes.

"We are honestly convinced that carrying out the Zionist plans will affect Turkey advantageously. Energy and material means will be brought hither, a great fruitfulness of this devastated area can readily be forecast, and out of all these will develop more happiness and civilization for many human beings."

The Emperor answered: "I thank you for your

communication which has interested me very much. The matter requires careful study and further discussion." Then he expressed his views on the colonization of Palestine. "The land requires before all water and shade." The soil could be cultivated. "The settlements I have seen, among the Germans as well as among your people, can serve as samples of what can be done here. There is room for all. Create water and shade. The work of the colonies can serve as examples to the native population. Your movement, of which I am well informed, contains a wholesome thought." He repeated that he was seriously interested. A moment of informality followed. The Emperor spoke of the heat. Von Bulow pointed out that water was the most important question. Herzl admitted it would cost much, but it would increase values.

"Money you have in plenty," rejoined the Emperor stroking his shoes with his whip. Von Bulow added, "Yes, money, which causes us so much trouble, you have in abundance."

Herzl enlarged on the water power possibilities of Palestine, Seidener the engineer going into details. The Kaiser discussed the health problem and Dr. Schnirrer answered briefly.

The Emperor said neither yes nor no. Publicly he ignored the program he had discussed with Herzl in Yildiz Kiosk.

CHAPTER X.

LAND OF THE FUTURE

Emperor failed to keep promise—Impressions of Palestine—Opposition in Palestine and elsewhere—Develops organization of Jewish Colonial Trust—Letter to von Bulow—Difference within organization—Minimum capital for bank secured—Turkish ambassador in Washington opposed movement—Death of Newlinski—In London proclaims his “charter” idea.

THE day on which Herzl was received by the German Emperor he proceeded to Mozah, a settlement then newly founded by a Russian Jew, a few kilometers northwest of Jerusalem. Here, forgetting his political preoccupations, he planted a cedar sapling and listened to the farmer’s recital of how he had fought thieving Arabs and prowling hyenas to start his farm on this rocky slope of the upper Judean Hills.

Herzl pondered over the struggles of this young pioneer, and wondered whether any other soil had been won to cultivation with such desperate courage. Little of all his Palestinean observations found their way into his public addresses. “We went neither as pleasure seekers nor as experts, to Palestine. We had a specific political mission,” he wrote in *Die Welt*. “When that was accomplished we immediately hurried homeward. . . . The Jewish agriculturists are fine and intelligent. So they impressed us wherever we met them. What amazed us most during this superficial inspection was the malaria.¹ Yes we believe as formerly, but much

¹Justice Louis D. Brandeis made an almost identical observation in 1919 and immediately thereafter initiated the remedial measures which have proved successful in eradicating malaria from a large area.

more intensely since we were there, that this land which nature endowed so well is a land of the future."¹ Herzl, it may be recalled, was a victim of malaria, and it was no doubt these attacks which in his Palestine diary he described as "fever." His subsequent brief allusions to this trip contain a firm note as to the possibilities of the soil, and a clearer understanding of its commercial and trading possibilities. "The land," in his judgment, "offers a thousand possibilities" to the shrewd cultivator, and Egypt was to him a model of what energy could create in a warm climate. Palestine had no Nile, but it had the Jordan.

In the spring of 1900 in an address in Vienna, he went into some detail on his Palestinean experiences.

"Colonization in that land is practicable; the experiments of Baron Rothschild and other colonizing organizations were very useful in that respect. They proved at least that the soil yields to human effort and more bountifully than elsewhere. A friend of ours had depicted this fertility in a fine phrase, 'when the Arab tickles it with his plough the soil smiles' . . . wherever the Jewish and German colonists labored the results were surprising. Everything blossomed. . . . I saw at Mozah a man twenty-four years old who came there from Russia six years before a beggar. He went out on these stony fields and after two years he was able to enlarge his holding and employ two Arabs."

Hampden, the English Roundhead, dug a road round the rock that blocked the path of his wain. Herzl had this temperament; obstacles existed to demonstrate man's superior knowledge. He drew no "pretty" pictures of Palestine; he had no illusions as to the difficulties involved in settling a great mass of Jews, but he had

¹November 18, 1898.

abiding faith in man's ingenuity, and in the power created by modern mechanical forces to rebuild a world, bring water where it was lacking, grade hills, pierce mountains, and turn the desert into a garden. He had no mechanical ability, but he admired physical effort. He could be absorbed in watching machinery whirr, or in men engaged in engineering construction. He read eagerly about labor saving devices, noting with keen pleasure American methods of doing things.

To Herzl, given the political guarantees, Palestine would be a "tabula rasa" on which he would operate as a combination of Cecil Rhodes, James J. Hill, and Sir William Wilcox. Palestine as it existed had its importance—sentimentally and culturally—but a Palestine developed to its highest possibility was the setting of all his cogitation. In this difference of attitude there was a wide cleft between the leader and the majority of his followers.

Physically his Palestinean experiences were on the whole unpleasant. The heat, unusual at that season, aggravated his heart trouble. Fever confined him to his room in Jerusalem for twenty-four hours, but "for the sake of history"¹ he wrote in his diary, he refused a sedative before he waited on the Emperor. Prior to his visit he had been warned that he might be attacked by Arabs. Once indeed in Jerusalem, Wolffsohn, seeing in the gesture of an Arab a threat, interposed his body between Herzl and what looked like a descending knife; but the Arabs did nothing to the Jewish "prince" whose presence may have bothered them far less than an Emperor who resembled a victorious Crusader more than a pious pilgrim, and whose visit disturbed all their routine habits.

¹Evidently a reflection on Napoleon III at Sedan.

Owing to the presence of the English Chaplain Hechler, who rendered loyal service, Herzl was maligned by Jews who spread the report that the Jewish leader was in some way associated with the Protestant missions. Anti-Zionism was well represented in Jerusalem, and everything that could be done to belittle Herzl and his associates in the press or to the German Imperial party was done, as the series of cleverly misleading cables from Jerusalem afterwards demonstrated.

The Jews crowding round him wherever he went, expressed a desire to give Herzl an official reception, but the Palestinian Jews had their own political differences and the visit of the Emperor brought these into strong relief. Few of the Palestinian Jews were Turkish subjects. Even those born in the country were registered with foreign consuls, and each group used its own consular post office. Some were theoretically British, under a declaration of protection granted by Lord Palmerston to all Jews in Palestine. Others were French protected; a few, prominent officials, were German. There were Hungarians and Galicians, a great number here that Russia claimed as her own, and a small group that had achieved American citizenship. Only the Sephardim were Turkish subjects and had an official Haham Bashi, or Chief Rabbi, recognized as the leading religious Jewish authority by the government. These people under the leadership of Ephraim Cohn had no inkling either of Herzl's policy or the particular occasion of his visit. Had they understood they probably would have still more violently opposed him, for they had no sympathy even for the colonization movement.

Palestinian Jewry—except the handful of the colonists who for the first time had a successful harvest—

was still overwhelmingly sunk in misery. The majority of the Jews in the cities of Jaffa, Jerusalem, Tiberias, Safed, and Hebron, were living on a pittance, the international charity for the pious, known as Chaluka. Herzl had to look over their heads to see his new Jerusalem. They may have been contemptuous of this strange visitor who outraged the conventions by not distributing pence freely to the beggars lined along the streets of the old city. Turkish Jewish subjects therefore had no reason to invite the displeasure of a distant sovereign, or what involved greater risk, the displeasure of near-at-hand tyrannical officials. The Jewish subjects of other powers could and did join in a shallow courtesy to the Emperor. They received him under a triumphal arch and the rabbis formally blessed him. They were glad when he departed. To keep at a distance from Herzl was for the Jewish officials the prudent policy. They obeyed that instinct, and he quite appreciated the stern necessity for it.

The Jewish settlements, as we know, were governed by the Rothschild administration, and the officials, at that distance from Paris, were more French than the Parisians. They would make no more than a grimace of courtesy to a German Monarch, and from their point of view Herzl was even a less desirable visitor. At the Congress had he not been a party to sharp criticism of all their doings? And did he not want their submergence as a group, if not their dismissal individually? A hundred, perhaps a thousand Jews in Palestine understood and appreciated Herzl's presence at that moment—and Herzl thoroughly respected them and their position. But official Jewry, such is the irony of fate, was avowedly bitterly anti-Zionist in their own land, when Herzl



A VIEW OF THE COLONY, RIS-ION-LE-ZION, IN 1898, WHEN
HERZL VISITED IT.

sought by a single stroke to win for them Jewish freedom and ownership of the land.

Herzl was at no moment sure after his arrival in Constantinople that the Turks would not offer him some insult or expel him. Justified nervousness. The London *Times*¹ devoted an editorial to the Turkish treatment of "the long suffering correspondents who are accompanying the Kaiser;" they "have been hustled, we are told, by the soldiers and menaced with drawn sabres." The authorities "refused to allow the journalists to travel by the same road as the Emperor unless they were content to follow a day later." And the Zionist delegation had not even the standing of special correspondents.

In Palestine all through his trip he "felt the ground burning beneath his feet," for according to his own way of thinking if the Turks had a glimmer of political foresight they would have stopped his progress. He conjured a dozen methods they might have employed against him, to his complete undoing, and the fact that only their indolence had permitted him to become a political factor offered consolation but no comfort.

On the back of the first draft of his address, which the Emperor or his aides had corrected, Herzl noted the words "Tewfik Pascha, Grand Hotel." Evidently the Turkish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had been privy to his audience. Did he know of the proposed German protectorate? How would he re-act? It was no time for taking chances. At midnight the delegation packed, and at dawn they were traveling by train to Jaffa. But no vessel in that harbor was sailing that day for Alexandria, and after twenty-four hours delay Herzl

¹November 1, 1898.

chartered the available space on a small English coast-wise steamer, from which the party transshipped at Alexandria for Naples.

It was a rough voyage and most of his colleagues suffered from sea-sickness, a malady, Herzl grimly said, that ought not to affect them seeing that their forbears had so often sailed these seas. From Naples Herzl went to Rome, standing before, but not passing under the shadow of the arch of Titus, thus following an old Jewish tradition, renewing there, as Wolffsohn told the writer, his oath of fealty to Zion restored.

II.

For weeks the leader had been cut off from the world and had heard nothing but the wildest impossible rumors of what was afoot in Europe. Had the German government published an account of the audience? He was pledged to silence until Count von Kessel issued an official version. The Emperor had made no direct reference to the Yildiz Kiosk discussion. At the moment he was not sorry that William II had not immediately announced a German protectorate over Palestine. The idea had its value, but as he explained to his depressed associates, it would prove costly in the long run. But the Emperor had also made no reference to the Charter. Why? The answer might be in what Germany officially published. In Naples he found a newspaper which carried this entirely colorless, meaningless communique:

"Jerusalem, November 2. Today the German Emperor received a Jewish deputation which presented him with an album containing views of the Jewish colonies which have been established in Palestine. In reply to the speech delivered by

the leader of the deputation, in presenting the album, his Majesty said that all such endeavors to improve the agriculture of Palestine in the best interests of the Turkish empire in full recognition of the Sultan's sovereign rights might be made in complete reliance upon the Kaiser's benevolent interest."¹

Unprepared for this dilemma, Herzl hastily completed a letter drafted on ship-board to the Grand Duke of Baden. To his royal friend he made it abundantly clear that the positive result anticipated from the Constantinople audience had not been realized in Jerusalem. "Between the private audience in Constantinople and the reception in Jerusalem difficulties seem to have arisen." The Emperor's silence on the crucial point indicated that. Who was at fault? Had the Emperor indulged in personal vacillation, or had political problems intervened? The Grand Duke's enigmatic reply reached him in Vienna. "The Jews of Jerusalem had made an unpleasant impression on the Emperor."

Newlinski, stricken with illness, had unfortunately not carried out his mission to Rome. He had received word from Constantinople that the Emperor had said to the Sultan, "The Zionists are not dangerous to Turkey; the Jews are everywhere a nuisance of which we would be gladly freed." The Sultan's response had been merely a mild assurance of his own satisfaction with his Jewish subjects.

Herzl and his associates were too self-centered, and during their visit to Palestine too far from news centers to sense the real situation. The Kaiser's trip created much local excitement and led to endless misinforma-

¹This Reuter message was printed generally in the European press, in some instances with and in others without the word "Jewish" before "colonies."

tion. The visit to Egypt, that "other vassal state," was not made "owing to considerations of domestic policy." A regency was under discussion in Germany, due to the Emperor's absence. The larger part of the Syrian tour was abandoned "owing to the possibilities of European complications." England and France were at logger-heads over Fashoda. "Germany must reap the advantages," observed the *Neue Freie Presse*,¹ "if to the old revenge spirit against the Germans there is added in France a new anger against their English neighbors." This was probably the Kaiser's pre-occupation when Herzl presented him with the formal address in Jerusalem, and Palestine was already in the "discard."

The Sultan, said one authority, gave the Kaiser the land for his Jerusalem church; the Emperor bought it from the Sultan, said another, naming the price. The Kaiser enhanced the position of Protestantism; on the contrary, claimed the French, he played up to the Catholics in order to injure French prestige in Syria. Two facts may be positively established of this trip, one, that the weather was unusually hot for Palestine in November; second, that the Kaiser made many addresses in which he "noted with joy German subjects in the Holy Places . . . as a living symbol of the might of the German empire."²

Moreover such was the position of Jerusalem Jewry, and so meagre the appreciation of the relationship of the Jews to Palestine, that, except one solitary line, "The German Emperor received a Jewish deputation," the reams of telegrams from special correspondents and from the regular news agencies, which occupied much

¹November 2, 1898.

²*Cologne Gazette*, November 1, 1898.

space at the time, contained no reference, even remotely, to the existence of Jews in Palestine, nor of Jewish interest in the country.

Herzl was not ready to admit failure. From Naples he telegraphed a stilted official though correct report of the audience in which he said guardedly: "Dr. Herzl delivered an address to the Emperor, who gave a friendly reply." His Viennese associates had first been elated, then despite the growing depression, offered to organize a great reception, but Herzl would none of it.

A real combat was in process when he left Vienna, which the Kaiser incident only aggravated on his return. Perhaps his only pleasurable experience on his return to Vienna November 18 was that the tone had changed in the office of the *Neue Freie Presse*: "This time on my return, they smile but they do not laugh. Several indeed smiled enviously." Bacher was reading *Die Welt* when he entered, but Herzl refused all explanations of his experiences until the newspaper agreed to publish its first article on Zionism. Instead he wrote to Wolffsohn. "Let us not lose a day, an hour, the loss may be terrible." A few days later he exercised further pressure: "For heaven's sake do not let things droop." And again in a few days: "I am so hampered that I dare not risk approach to the Kaiser again. The answer might be too good. I must postpone everything, including the trip to Russia, because the money is not yet available."

The leader was not slow to respond to the suggestion "that the present condition of the Jews in Jerusalem did not make a good impression on the Emperor." Herzl understood that this statement was merely a diplomatic means of retreat and pointed out that exactly these conditions were among the basic reasons for Zion-

ism. In a letter to the Grand Duke of Baden, he emphasized the fact that the physical and moral changes in the Jewish colonists in Palestine were the best warrant for the cause. "The change in the conditions of life however do not serve as an end, but only as a means to improve our people."

A more positive reason for the Emperor's withholding of the protectorate, he was informed, was the discovery that so many of the Palestinean Jews were in virtue of the Capitulations, under a French protectorate. Herzl undertook to obtain the assent of the French Jewish organizations in Palestine to a German protectorate, but realizing that Germany was not prepared to make a public issue of the matter he proposed that the Jewish land purchasing corporation for Syria and Palestine, which he had outlined in his Jerusalem address, to the Emperor, should be established in Berlin under the protection of the German government, which should enter into confidential relations with this organization. The Grand Duke was thoroughly sympathetic to this plan, and even reported that Herzl had made a good impression on the Kaiser, but imperial consent would have to be obtained before the Grand Duke could make any new move.

As Herzl had anticipated, the real obstacle was von Bulow, who on December 16 in the Reichstag referring to the Kaiser's tour, made this cryptic statement: "The Sultan is far too perspicacious a sovereign to have imagined for one moment that Emperor William II meant to follow in the footsteps of Bohemond and Tancred in the East, and to rend from Turkey, Syria, Palestine, or Heaven knows what." Von Bulow had no liking for Herzl's project and a thoroughgoing dislike of the Jews.

Months later gossip reported that von Bulow had expressed himself as follows:

"Our Gracious Lord is, as you know, both fire and flame for a thing. So he was this time, and in such measure, that I could not oppose him. But you know, our Gracious Lord cools off just as quickly. So it was this time. Dr. Herzl made an excellent impression upon me, but I did not believe in his cause. His people have no money. The rich Jews would not aid, and nothing can be done with the lousy Polish Jews."¹

Apart from von Bulow's opposition there were other reasons to prevent the Kaiser from carrying out his project, if he ever seriously meant it. The Turks were entirely disillusioned by his visit. It cost them great sums to entertain him at a moment when their treasury was, as usual, empty, and his visit did not prevent them from permanently losing Crete. Kitchener in the Soudan had consolidated his conquest by the capture of Omdurman, and the Fashoda incident had been settled. The Sultan was therefore farther away than ever from the restoration of a practical over-lordship of that "other vassal state," Egypt. In American political slang, the Kaiser gave the Sultan "a ride" for his money, nothing else.

William II had cut his swath in the Orient to no immediate practical political purposes, though Germans took full advantage of the commercial opportunities his visit opened up for them. Time has proved that von Bulow blundered. For this mistake Germany had to pay twenty years later when England, by espousing Zionism, gained the moral as well as the political supremacy over Palestine. In the light of subsequent events the blunder was the less defensible because in the

¹Reported to Alexander Marmorek and repeated by Herzl in his diaries.

eyes of both German and British "Easterners" the Great War was not only caused by the pressure to the East, but, in their judgment the war was won when the British captured Jerusalem.

Finality of judgment in contemporary political matters is, however, impossible. The German Ambassador, Prince von Eulenberg, Herzl's strongest German supporter, except the Grand Duke of Baden, offered in January 1901 quite another explanation of the failure of the German Emperor to keep his plighted word. Herzl was at that time being attacked in blackmailing sheets, not a solitary incident, for boasting of his contact with the Emperor. In truth he was to his own hurt unnecessarily secretive about such matters. To von Eulenberg he pointed out that he had been wholly silent notwithstanding that he had the letter of the Grand Duke of Baden clearly suggesting that the Emperor desired to assume the protectorate over Palestine.

To von Eulenberg "The Jew was international, something we forgot when we conceded him German citizenship."¹ But he felt sufficiently attracted to Herzl to offer an explanation of the Imperial failure in Constantinople.

"To this day we have not been able to discover what was the real difficulty. The Sultan had declined the Emperor's advice regarding the Zionists so harshly, that it was impossible to pursue the matter further. We were anxious to remain on good terms. As a guest the Kaiser could of course go no further."

Herzl suggested that Russia was probably the unknown interfering factor, and he feared that the gradual

¹Eulenberg's Memoir.



SOUVENIR POSTCARD OF JERUSALEM SENT BY ZIONIST DELEGATION
TO AUTHOR AND RECEIVED NOVEMBER 15, 1898

The signatures are Theodor Herzl, I. Seidenwar, Dr. Schnirer, D. Wolff-
sohn and Dr. M. Bodenheimer.

encroachment of Russia in Asia Minor was the real danger to Zionism. "Only if Palestine belonged to Russia would we have to give up all hope of obtaining it." The ambassador, who claimed that Germany was trying, in her own interest, to hold the balance between Russia and England, leaning now on this side, and now on that, thought there was point to the argument.

Herzl was bitterly attacked for this German adventure at the Third Congress where he defended himself inadequately. Herzl held loyally to the secrecy that had been imposed on him in Jerusalem, though he took occasion to remind the German statesman that he had been the victim of bad faith. There can be no doubt that he was misled in the transaction by the enthusiasm of the Grand Duke of Baden and by his own belief that great princes could exercise much influence. He was well aware of the Psalmist's "put not your trust in princes," but when the Grand Duke and von Eulenberg pressed him to support the policy of a German protectorate over Palestine he was justified in assuming that Ambassador Marschall von Bieberstein had negotiated with the Sublime Porte. Herzl played diplomatic chess. He wanted to use the Emperor in order to reach the Sultan; his opponent had the right to use Zionism in order to secure Palestine. Their words suggested German diplomacy had taken time by the forelock and he accepted the situation and decided to turn it to account. The Emperor and the Grand Duke were merely imagining things—this probably explains why the ex-Emperor has declined the author's invitation to explain his failure to keep his word.¹ Von Eulenberg's explanation is probably cor-

¹In answer to a letter inviting an explanation which we dated on the anniversary of the Jerusalem audience, we received the following:

rect for it agrees in good measure with Vambery's memoir.²

Later Herzl understood that he had made a diplomatic blunder in urging German support for Zionism if a protectorate for Palestine was a condition precedent. For he came to realize that such a suggestion would have been paralyzing to the Sultan's nervous system. Abdul Hamid saw in Zionism an antidote to the Christian encroachments in the Near East. To accept Herzl's plan at the solicitation of the Kaiser would have added to Christian prestige, and deprived the Sultan and his entourage of all the possible immediate and permanent lucrative returns they expected from the sale of concessions and from the development of industries. Both Herzl and Vambery were good reporters and their notes, read in combination, fully justify this view of what to Herzl was the first serious crisis in his Zionist experience.

"Haus Doorn, Den. 20 November, 1926.

"Herrn Jakob de Haas, New York.

"Auf Ihr gefälliges Schreiben vom 2. November muss ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass Ihrem Wunsche leider nicht entsprochen werden kann.—Hochachtungsvoll—J. Kleist."

The German Foreign office in a memorandum, marked Abschrift III—O. 5357, recently forwarded the following:

"The recorded documents of the Foreign Office have been examined. They afford no basis for the views expressed by Dr. Herzl in his Tagebuch that the Imperial Chancellor Prince Hohenlohe and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs von Bulow were in opposition to Ambassador Freiherrn von Marschall.

"The request of the German Kaiser to take over the protectorate of a consolidated Jewish settlement in Palestine and Syria under the suzerainty of the Sultan was mentioned by Dr. Herzl in his audience with the Kaiser in Constantinople, but he did not repeat the suggestion in the address which he delivered at the audience in Jerusalem, which was of later date." Attached to the document was a copy of the address delivered by Dr. Herzl to the Kaiser in Jerusalem.

In response the author called the attention of the German Foreign Office to the fact that the address delivered by Dr. Herzl was carefully edited by the Emperor, von Bulow and the attache von Kessel and that, therefore, the responsibility for the contents of the address rested with the German authorities and not with Herzl.

²See page 356.

None of all this however was part of Herzl's vision in December, 1898. He had the then current conception of the Oriental question. Having failed in its own cause, Herzl realized Germany had also failed him. While he maintained his pressure on the Grand Duke of Baden, and even addressed the Emperor by letter, he turned at once to England and seconded Nordau's effort to obtain an audience with Lord Salisbury, who was not unsympathetic to the idea but was not then prepared to give it practical consideration. Once again he turned to the Kaiser, who however would not receive him but advised his seeing von Bulow. Herzl avoided further direct contact with this ministerial opponent but he wrote him a characteristically frank letter:

"I believe, Excellency, that you do not favor the cause. This was clear to me from the moment I had the honor for the first time to discuss Zionism with you. On the one hand you regarded the difficulties in Turkey, and the opposition of various interests as too great. On the other hand you regarded the yearning of the Jews to emigrate as too small. I understand that a responsible statesman must regard a movement, which is not exactly in accord with his own conceptions of life, objectively and even suspiciously.

"Nevertheless, Excellency, I believe you have been misinformed by our opponents, our Jewish opponents. Our movement is much stronger than, for many reasons, would appear on the surface. That the rich Jews personally do not wish to go with us is known. It would be worse if they would go—I mean not only for us, but for various countries."

Herzl then proceeded to draw a picture for the German Secretary of State, dealing indirectly with the quality and quantity of his support and the attitude of the Jews. The Jewish business man (Kommerzienrat) in Germany was no doubt the butt of popular wit and

humor, but his departure would not merely prove a loss to the journals of humor. Local wealth would be ruined. "If the Kommerzienrat does not want to pay for the cause with his person (later on at the right season he will make a trip to Palestine when the hotels are as comfortable as those in the Riviera) he has nothing against poor devils and such fools as I settling there. For that he is even willing to make 'a sacrifice.' I know this from him. This condition is comic, like most things human, but anyhow it is human. Who is not an opportunist?"

In the same vein he dealt with the lack of support on the part of the great newspapers owned by Jews. These owners feared that if they supported Zionism they would be told to go to Palestine. As for himself he had not founded a great daily because "one has to attend day and night to such a newspaper, as to a steamboiler." He continued:

"Excellency, I do not know how foolish it sounds, when I say, that I wish to solve the Jewish Question. To me it appears wise, and I believe that the Zionist idea will succeed.

"Soon indeed, in a few years. Everything presses towards it.

"If our work miscarries, hundreds of thousands of our supporters will at a single bound join the revolutionary parties. That too is natural. 'The animal is very spiteful; it defends itself when attacked.' But our work must succeed. Turkey needs those same Jews who are nowhere else desired."

He proceeded: The Turks are incapable of ameliorating the conditions in Palestine. None of the Powers would permit any other Power to take possession. Unbelief forbade another crusade. The Cross was probably less opposed to the Crescent than the Greek Cross was

opposed to all other Christian churches. The letter seemed garrulous but there was a motive which he conveyed by five words in English, "the shortest way to India" was through Palestine, certainly the shortest road to the whole of southern Asia, as the northern route was wholly in Russian control. "The solution of the Palestine question—I no longer say the Jewish question—is complementary to recent events in Asia." Then he turned abruptly to the sore point.

"Now I had the good fortune to obtain the support of His Majesty the Emperor to these ideas. The German Protectorate was proposed to us. But it did not come to that. Yes, our expedition to Palestine was, candidly, unsuccessful. A brief official despatch of the telegraph agency turned our audience in the tents before Jerusalem into nothing. I was silent, as, according to my pledge, was my duty."

Still in light vein he came to the main question. Was there nothing to hope from Germany or could Germany not take a hand openly? Thus he tried to obtain some act of co-operation from von Bulow, or he must look for support elsewhere. But "I seldom permit myself illusions; therefore, I do not expect by these observations to convert your Excellency." Unless he was summoned he would not seek the Secretary of State. Use of the silk glove over the mailed fist was in vain; a change of policy was necessary.

But he had first to face the aftermath of the congress. The congress enthusiasm animating so diverse a group of Jews made a favorable impression. "Even Zionism has some good points," admitted an opponent. "It brings together fanatics and liberals on a common ground and eventually they learn to understand each

other better.”¹ The same note was struck in America where editorial comment evoked a practically forgotten picture of Jewish life:

“The cause that brings under one roof men from all over the world, those who are Jews purely by the accident of birth (but who do not identify themselves in the slightest degree with the religious life of their brethren) and the Russian Chassid Jew (who leaves the synagogue on the entrance of the Sabbath to empty all his pockets, and even takes off his Zionist badge in order to honor the Sabbath by bearing no burden), such a cause must command our respectful consideration, however indifferent we may otherwise be to the entire movement.”²

However words of approval prevailed only for a moment. Nordau’s charge of cowardice on the part of the French Jews in the Dreyfus affair did not go unchallenged; there was indeed more to the issue than a question of courage. Was Jewry a body corporate morally, and assuming that it was, should it resent attack? In truth so many questions had been raised by the congress addresses and decisions that there was material available for heated dispute for all capable of wielding a pen.

“The programme . . . presents the spectacle of the most contemptible, if not the most grotesque species of idealism which was ever laid before the remnant of the descendants of a great nation,” wrote Oswald John Simon in the *Nineteenth Century* September 1898. Mr. Simon was the solitary Jew in England who believed sufficiently in the “Mission” theory, to attempt to put it into practise.

¹*Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, Berlin, 1898, p. 510.

²*American Hebrew*, New York, September 16, 1898.

The monster October demonstration in London had for a moment frightened the opposition, but as soon as they realised again that "anti-Semitism has become the one sole and all sufficing argument" for Zionism they returned everywhere to the attack. The Jewish situation was growing more perilous; Viennese Jewry was considering opening denominational schools owing to Burgo-master Lueger's policy. The situation in Galicia became so serious that a Jewish commission was organized to inquire into the Galician "Judenelend." (Jewish distress). Excesses occurred in Kossow and Herzl was not slow to point the moral. These excesses were part of the political campaign in Galicia during which the peasants were told, as a reason for supporting the clerical candidates, that the government sanctioned the plundering and massacre of Jews. The peasants accepted the information and troops had to be sent to Jaslo.

In an article called "Fire in Galicia" in *Die Welt*, Herzl indulged in bitter sarcasm: "The Jews of Galicia need no defense. They have done nothing that calls for putting the sign of the red rooster on their roofs. They have only committed the crime of living, living in penury and sorrow." Rumors of a plot to blow up the synagogue with five hundred Jews in Olmutz, Bavaria, were spread. But the stronger the case for Zionism as against the exasperating growth of anti-Semitism, the bitterer the opposition grew to the new Jewish leadership.

Meanwhile Herzl's congress suggestion to the Zionists, that they conquer the important congregational offices had not gone unheeded. Anti-Zionist rabbis issued challenges to Zionist rabbis, and a baffling campaign of polemics was started in the European Jewish press. The bank project too was attacked on every hand, and Sir

Samuel Montagu, who had been the first to promise Herzl financial support, was now the first to plead publicly with his fellow Jews not to buy shares in the new bank.

Herzl had left Vienna under this rain of criticism. When he returned the shower had turned into "pitchforks." He was, it was alleged, the cause of the Turkish government putting impediments "in the way of Jews of different nationalities who may wish to proceed to Palestine as travelers." Zionism had, it was assumed, resulted in the authorities in Palestine having received strict orders to forbid the sale of Palestinian lands to Jews and especially to the representatives of Baron de Hirsch and Baron de Rothschild. Many of these rumors were afterwards denied, but for the moment they served. By establishing the bank Herzl had descended "from the high clouds of sentiment . . . to the slippery ground of finance."

A real political campaign was convulsing Jewry—and Jewry was world wide. The Zionists, growing in numbers in Western Europe, gave as good as they received. English Zionists claimed that boycott was being organized against those Zionists who held communal office, and in Poland Zionists were being arrested for spreading Zionist propaganda. The attack on their leader was met by a vigorous attack on the English Chief Rabbi Adler, who in turn denounced the cause. Simultaneously orthodox rabbis in Germany joined the denunciation of the Zionist leaders, mingled always with a good word for the practical Zionists. The recrimination was mutual and bitter. At one moment the opposition suggested a truce, "There is a vast field for united and profitable action," it pleaded.

ב"ה

[illegible]

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נחם
כדי עק, מדין

FACSIMILE OF THE "ISKA" OR DECLARATION.

In accordance with Talmudic Precepts, enabling the Jewish Colonial Trust to take Interest. The signatures to the right are those of the Directors; under the Seal is that of the General Secretary, James H. Loewe.

But that plea was lost when from Jerusalem there began to trickle a series of false reports as to Herzl's visit. In these messages it was stated that Herzl had not been received by the Kaiser; the audience had been granted to a group of Christian Templars; he had been received by a German official, unofficially. It was known said a more guarded report, that "as soon as the bank scheme is shown to be a success it is likely that in return for an adequate equivalent—a concession may be obtained from the Turkish government for colonisation on a large scale"—with the sting in the tail of the message—"always provided that satisfactory guarantees are given with respect to political Zionism!"

The bank project had gone through many vicissitudes since the thought "sprang full bodied into being," the greatest difficulty being that not a single well known rich Jew throughout the world would lend a hand in organizing it. Indeed one after another opposed its formation, and in London they even went to the length of endeavoring to prevent well-known banking institutions from accepting its deposits. Herzl had to finance the preliminary organization; he subscribed a large sum to the capital and he had to establish the trust directorate with the aid of rabbis, lawyers, doctors, merchants, and teachers. Jacobus Kann of the Hague was the only banker with experience and standing in the world of finance who aided in the establishment of the Zionist financial institution.

The name "Juedische Kolonial Bank" did not please. Even Zionists did not like "Jewish—Bank;" "Colonial" was objected to because it represented nothing specific; many did not even like the term "bank." But Herzl pounded at the title and only yielded on the English de-

scription of the institution, "Jewish Colonial Trust." Writing to Wolffsohn: "The important thing is not that the bank is established, but that it is so established that it will serve our movement as a fitting instrument for political Zionism and so remain."

There were long drawn out battles with lawyers over the articles and agreement of incorporation; legal English imposed a terrible ordeal on German lawyers—to say nothing of East Europeans wholly ignorant of English procedure. While ably directed in its strenuous political propaganda and polemical efforts, the Zionist Organization with its weekly influx of new supporters, with committees and federations still in a formative stage, was not then equipped to serve as a money raising organization.

Two million pounds was the goal, but formal organization was to be effected when a quarter of a million pounds sterling was subscribed. Nothing like this had ever been attempted among Jews, and a dozen experimental methods had to be tried. Over night the poor began to respond to the preliminary appeal. Twenty-three thousand subscriptions were recorded by the middle of October, 95 per cent for single shares. The list grew daily, and from every country.

Sir Samuel Montagu, who had once tried to prevent establishing the bank, made a second attempt. Addressing his East London religious followers he told them he objected to Jews acting internationally for a political purpose. Jews he added should not go to Palestine, "unless they had a leader who inspired them with perfect confidence." Rabbi Singer, once the amanuensis to Herzl in London, espoused Montagu's side, and Chief Rabbi Adler, bitter because the trust headquarters had

been established in London, and emboldened by the opposition, called a secret conference which drew up a manifesto that might have, had it been published, wrecked Herzl's hopes. But the manifesto, to carry weight, needed Lord Rothschild's signature. And Lord Rothschild was in other fields combating both Montagu and Adler. Hence the manifesto went into the wastebasket; the bank through Rothschild's neutrality became possible.

In vain did the Chief Rabbi oppose and call the East European Jews "beggars and starvelings;" in vain did the *Jewish Chronicle* in a fine frenzy say, "our Zion is here in Whitechapel;" in vain were bank doors slammed in the faces of Wolffsohn and Kann in Paris, Berlin and elsewhere. "The wholesome check" failed to be effective. The lumbering effort of an enthusiastic directorate, the persistent pen of an untiring leader, the determination of the orderly and the peace-loving Wolffsohn, efforts of a thousand loyal followers enabled the organization to report in the closing days of 1898 that the minimum capital had been pledged, though money for preliminary expenses was greatly lacking. Money! Money! Its need had almost become a nightmare to Herzl. With money political Zionism could be achieved.

IV.

The dawn of 1899 presented a better horizon than the year just ended. The leader had behind him now a great restless mass of Jews, who in consequence of his efforts, had divided Jewry as it had not been divided since the rise of Sabbatai Zevi, in 1666. A political battle was being carried on in every country with the fury of an American presidential campaign, but with

no term set for the ending of hostilities. This wordy warfare brought new recruits daily in England, in Italy, in Bulgaria, in the United States, and even in the Argentine. Canada under the leadership of Clarence I. de Sola, was the only place in western Jewry where Zionism was the controlling influence. Zionism had become a real issue in the Jewish world. Polemics, increasing anti-Semitism, the Dreyfus case, Herzl's challenging addresses, and Nordau's caustic speeches had brought about this situation. The Zionists in their propaganda proclaimed no half measures. Said one, "A Jewish state to which Jews can pass from slavery to freedom, not by favor, but by right, is a matter of urgency. No mere colonisation scheme upon however grand a scale can meet this need." This urgency, conveying a sense of imminent realization, was a weakness; it offered an opening to the opposition of a daily "show me."

Herzl, who had provided the slogans, was deeply hurt by the attacks made upon him in the anti-Zionist press, and in a brief article which he wrote for the one thousandth issue of the *American Hebrew* he said: "Is it possible that among other peoples when one has sought to be of service to them one would be so reviled and set upon as I have been by the anti-Zionist press?" He quoted as a sample of this vilification, the Cincinnati *American Israelite*, then under the editorship of Dr. Isaac M. Wise, which said of Herzl and Nordau, "Neither of the two ever was a Jew, and now that they have taken up Judaism as a business and have become professional Jews they want the entire field to themselves."

How baseless and unjustified this attack was time has revealed. No man brought greater personal sacrifice to any cause. But Herzl had offended some rabbis.

To one he said: "I live for the Jews, and you live on them." Also his threat at the second congress was not forgotten. His attack on Adler and Gudemann and his biting characterization of the "protest rabbis" was not ignored by their colleagues of the cloth. Nordau in Berlin not only ridiculed the mission theory, but described the anti-Zionist rabbis as sleek and well fed, but useless. This joint attack on the modern Rabbinate was an innovation in Jewish life. To be spoken of in the neat sarcastic terms that were common to political discussion was an entirely new and exasperating experience for the rabbis. In the battle of words they had the advantage, because with the pulpit went the control and influence, if not ownership, of the Jewish communal press. They liked to speak of the "Law" having gone forth from Zion, though we fear a modern repetition of that incident would have been most discommoding to the majority of the rabbis. But while Nordau with a grim smile sharpened a new arrow in response to personal abuse, Herzl, too sensitive to friction and strife, writhed under it.

The agitation affected the morale of the leadership in Russia—a leadership that had been restive and contra-Herzl from the first congress. Having the verbal assurance of supporters by January 13, that £250,000, the minimum operating capital, would be subscribed for the bank, the world executive was called into session in Vienna on the 25th and 26th and representatives attended from many countries. The Russian delegates brought the best known Hebrew journalist, Reuben Brainin, who on behalf of their two Hebrew publications, *Hamelitz* and *Haschiloah*, undertook "to bell the cat." They were hankering after colonization—practical

work—and they wanted clear information about Herzl's diplomatic "combinations." What had he achieved?

Brainin could obtain nothing but an oracular answer. Alluding to his audience with William II, Herzl said: "This deputation was one of the greatest events, the significance of which can only be overlooked by dishonest or stupid people. The fact that the Emperor received us not in Berlin, but in Jerusalem, is in itself of great importance." Nordau to whom Brainin turned for an explanation of Herzl's attitude toward colonization merely said: "Even if the Jews were willing to rush to Palestine I do not know that for the present I personally should favor colonization without publicly guaranteed rights."

Herzl ignored the evidence of dissatisfaction. He attempted to prevent Bernard Lazare from resigning from the Greater Actions Committee though Nordau explained privately that Lazare was withdrawing for fear the bank project would collapse. Publicly Lazare accused Herzl of "autocracy" and resigned as a protest against the lack of democracy in the governing body. The Greater Actions Committee had accepted the Trust statutes, approved the prospectus, and now there was a clear issue before him. If the minimum capital was raised he could proceed with "migration and settlement, while Nordau," he added, "is satisfied with polemic and demonstration." Action not argument was his field. He depicted his state of mind on February 11. "Discouraging days. The tempo of the movement slackens. The slogans are wearing down. Ideas become points for declamation, and the declamation is blunted."

But he was not a good witness on his own behalf. What had actually discouraged him was the failure of

his friend Baroness von Suttner to secure immediately an audience with the Russian Czar, and Newlinski's illness had clouded his contacts with Constantinople. He thought the Czar should be interested because "in Russia the Jewish Question exists as an unsolved and exceedingly painful difficulty. All desperate Jews must become anarchists," but for the effect of Zionist teaching.

Nordau's Viennese address scathing the rich annoyed him. For the first time Herzl was willing to "sugar-coat" the pill of Zionism for the wealthy in order to get aid for his bank. Nordau appealed to the proletariat and therefore attacked the rich: "The Jewish millionaires and milliardaires, if there be such, have, if not all, still for the greater part, taken sides against Zionism. They scoff at us and at our movement from the top of their money bags, and use against us expressions of wrath. . . . Christian aristocracy looks upon the Jewish millionaires as fortunes personified, mounted on two legs, and ciphers are respected by all materialists." The protest and opposition rabbis he treated with the same bitterness. "Their importance in Judaism is equal to zero. They have long since ceased to be teachers and leaders of the nation. To enlightened Jews they are objects of ridicule, to orthodox Jews objects of annoyance. Whether they believe in anything but their salary I know not." The retort to this attack could not be a smile.

In London the Zionist provocation caused the Sephardic community to compel Dr. Gaster to announce everywhere that he was speaking only in his own name as a Zionist. Such was the temper of the times that he dared do this in such fashion that everytime he spoke—which was almost nightly—he cast ridicule upon his own community.

V.

These incidents were regarded in great measure as by-play. The bank was the business in hand, and while the Zionist leaders everywhere began stumping the country for support they were dubbed "recruiting sergeants" by their opponents—the Vienna executive issued a call to arms for subscriptions. "The reveille of Zionism has been heard by the Jewish people," so began its proclamation. Herzl vowed he felt like Faust in his contract with the Evil One and that he would willingly barter ten years of his life for £250,000 for the bank. He was nervous because he felt he was firing his "last cartridge."

With money he could succeed in Turkey. The manifesto declared the bank had three objects: (1) normal banking business; (2) a trading connection with the government from which the settlement is to be acquired and (3) the establishment of a great land company which would be designed to bring the Zionist plan into activity. But these words meant little to Herzl. He needed an answer to von Bulow's objection—the poverty of the Zionists—and an accommodation for Turkey. For days he lived between fear and hope. The technique of issuing the prospectus was foreign to him and productive of delays, the reports were confusing, and he was ever pressed for time. The Jewish Colonial Trust was legally registered at Somerset House, London, March 20, 1899. Herzl may have taken comfort from his foremost journalistic opponent, who in the bitterest mood wrote, "Subscriptions are rolling in from thousands of our poorest co-religionists—from tailors, machinists, pressers, and boot finishers in London, from pious Jews in the Russian pale, the Roumanian towns and Galician ghettos. . . .

The imagination of these men is fired by the prospect of a Jewish independent state where they may dwell in proud security."¹ There could have been no greater tribute to what he had accomplished. But this outburst in the leading Jewish weekly, which ended with the fear that all the money would be lost, brought Herzl for the first time some support from Israel Zangwill, who had hitherto remained only an observer and even then was not an avowed Zionist.

In a letter dated April 9, 1899, Zangwill said: "I hope Dr. Herzl has retained the option of making his state outside of Palestine, if necessary" but added, "Dr. Herzl has achieved so much in so short a time that he ought to have a free hand for a little while." Then he turned to the matter in hand: "You dread that the money will be lost. And what then? What a terrible anxiety and pother over a paltry two millions! . . . We are quite rich enough to throw a couple of millions on an experiment in the laboratory of history."

The subscriptions, dribblets from a thousand places, poured in and the agitation was so intense that even the "Lovers of Zion" sought to take advantage of the Zionist propaganda. But their Tarnow conference was a victory for the Zionists and the attempt to attack Herzl in his own bailiwick, Vienna, by "practical" Zionist meetings failed. Even the announcement made by the Turkish Minister to Washington, that the Sultan would not sell Palestine fell on deaf ears. It was merely evidence that American Zionists were active. With the fairly accurate knowledge Herzl had acquired of the state of Turkish finances, and the general Jewish attitude toward Turkish methods, the statement issued by Ali Ferraugh Bey

¹*Jewish Chronicle*, London, April 7, 1899.

from Washington, afforded to all but the antis much amusement. The Minister declared:

"There seems to be a prevailing idea in this country that only a monetary consideration is involved in this plan now being agitated in high Hebrew circles over the proposed purchase of Palestine. I have noticed that all the press accounts dwell on the fact that the Hebrews are able to raise millions *ad infinitum*, and with these millions the sale of Palestine is then assured.

"I can assure the American people that such is not the state of affairs. The Sublime Porte does not desire to sell any part of its Arabian country, and no matter how many millions of gold are offered, this determination will not be altered. This statement is the official reply from Constantinople to many Turkish envoys who have been asked to sound the government on this point.

"There appears to be an opinion among the American people that our government is in need of financial assistance. This is a grave error. At no time since the Crimean war has Turkey been so well equipped as to her monetary apparatus. . . . The purchase of Palestine thus becomes a political question and not one of swelling our exchequer.

"The present agitation to establish a free home for the Hebrew race within the confines of the old promised land, the historic patrimony of Abraham, seems to me a very chimerical proposition. I cannot understand why the Jews under the Turkish sovereignty should be more discontented than the subjects of other countries. . . . It must not be considered that personally I am hostile to the plan, I merely voice the official sentiments of the Constantinople Foreign Office.

"But I do not think it fair to encourage by silence false hopes, the realization of which would only lead to trouble and embarrassment for a nation which has certainly never persecuted the Hebrew race. If the promoters of the plan would heed this advice I know it will save their co-religionists in Europe and Asia troubles and disappointments hereafter."¹

To the opposition "political Zionism was being driven

¹Quoted extensively in the American and European press, April, 1899.

from the field," it was something "which history has already put on the shelf." But Herzl was in contact with Artin Pascha and the only impression this attack made was that the Actions Comité urged Herzl to go to Constantinople. For this was, to the Zionists, a "balloon d'essai"—Turkey was apparently willing to talk business. No Zionist had spoken of purchasing Palestine from the government—the minister had denied a non-existing project, raised the issue of Jewish discontent in Turkey, which was never under discussion, and ignored all the real overtures.

A series of minor attacks on the Jews in Bohemia and Russia and intense misery in Galicia was aiding the cause. The announcement by the London *Morning Post* that "the Zionist movement on the continent is attracting the unfavorable notice of the [Russian] authorities," only served to increase the activity of Herzl's followers. They could find comfort by reading that, "The Russian government apprehends that the national ideals are flanked by revolutionary propaganda, and it is of the opinion that all the cabinets of Europe should discern in the Zionist movement not only a possible emigration to Palestine, but also a social revolution inaugurated and supported by Jews." And Herzl an avowed anti-Revolutionist! Nor did he have to defend his diplomacy if Russia officially saw ahead "a possible emigration to Palestine."

The precarious condition of Turkish finances compelled the Viennese Ambassador to return home. He had received no salary and lived on beans cooked by himself. "The Ambassador of the Caliph! If this appeared in a novel, it would not be believed." Newlinski steadily growing worse, reported the foregoing as well as the

news that Artin Pascha, a secretary in the Turkish Foreign office was friendly and preparing a new and favorable report on Zionism. Newlinski, accompanied by his wife and a physician, hurried to Constantinople. It was his last trip. He left Vienna March 30, and died April 2 in Constantinople. "With him," wrote Herzl, "there disappears from the romance of the Zionist movement one of its most remarkable figures." "He was truly and completely the 'secret agent'. . . . He cost me much money, and he received a subvention from the Committee. Whether he did anything for us with the Sultan, whether he was in a position to do anything, I do not know to this day. . . . He took his secrets with him to the grave."

Newlinski reached Yildiz before he died and his doctor brought back a message from an official that Herzl might expect to be called to Constantinople soon. Herzl was deeply moved by the death of his aide, about whom he held every possible opinion in turn, but whom somehow he trusted, whose funeral he arranged, and for whose wife he made immediate provision. Little is remembered of Newlinski today. Men of his type still exist but they figure still more in the political novels that scratch only the surface of these strange self-effacing, in part blackmailing, in part patriotic personalities. International diplomacy still uses these pawns, but formerly they were more freely employed, as much to obscure the real moves on the great chess board as to win them. Newlinski, accidentally "died in the service of Zionism." That took him out of the ruck of his fellows. It was perhaps the finest episode in a complex unreal existence. But Newlinski's death, just when Herzl's mind was on the success of the Trust, was no light matter

and he closed a volume of his diary on April 21 with a large question mark.

Suddenly he developed a new line of attack. Opportunist that he was, he sent Baroness von Suttner, the peace advocate, to the first Hague Peace Conference, then stirring the world with its prospect of international harmony, to make contacts for him with the world statesmen assembled in "the greatest village in Europe." Presently having business in London where the Trust was now qualified to function, he proceeded via the Hague. This was in all probability the most practical step he had taken for months, for it brought him in direct contact with men who could eventually be useful in his diplomatic "combinations." But this indirection did not please him and his diary is particularly weak in its record of this epoch making gathering.

"Were I younger in the movement, the Hague days would provide me with much diary material. But I am worn out, blase from struggle and adventure." Bloch, the Czar's peace inspirer, was "a clever, cultured old Jewish business man," for whom he wrote the introduction to a peace address. He met all the Russian delegates, and was impressed by Bourgeois, the French delegate.

But from Bloch he learned a new inwardness of diplomacy. The German Emperor, according to Bloch, being wholly in favor of the peace plan had decided to proclaim it during his Palestine tour, whereupon the Czar, not to be robbed of the initiative had forestalled him in August 1898. Therefore at the Peace Conference the German representatives took the position that the proposed court of arbitration was opposed to the sovereignty of monarchs and contrary to the independence of nations. Herzl seized upon this incident to attempt to render

service to Germany and at the same time win the good will of the Russians but his opportunism yielded nothing of consequence.

He was in a sick mood, more skeptical than usual, and in Paris he treated with contempt an agreement offered by Narcisse Leven, as president of the Jewish Colonization Association, in the presence of Nordau and Alexander Marmorek, to support him "when we have obtained the charter. We may not mention the I. C. A., but when we have the charter they are ours. Waste," he wrote of this interview, and in that mood proceeded to London. There he had a long and wrangling session over the detailed organization of the Trust, of which Kann at the first statutory meeting of the shareholders reported, "We have at present entered on our register the names of more than 100,000 shareholders. This fact as far as I know is without precedent in the history of banking."¹

As a member of a committee Herzl functioned poorly. His respect for other men's opinions depended upon the amount of their activity and his judgment of comparative effort was "our people watch with keen interest, from the balcony, how I labor." "When we are compelled in meetings to say always the same, always the same, when we feel that the truths which are dearest of all to us are reduced to commonplaces in our own mouths there arises in us the longing for that more peaceful world—the desk of our study."² Although trained for the legal profession he had nothing but contempt for the methods

¹The Trust is the biggest company ever formed in the commercial capital of the world. . . . Lipton's, itself a mammoth company, has only 70,000 subscribers. . . . The Jewish Colonial Trust registers contain the names of over 130,000 subscribers to 315,000 shares. It will be necessary for a special room to be set apart for its purposes by the government at Somerset House." *Israel*, Vol. V., No. 49, 1901.

²"Theodor Herzl at Basle Congress," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. LXXII. October, 1897.

and phraseology of lawyers and acquired at this juncture a keen distrust—which was mutual—of Dr. Gaster, who had accepted the responsibility of acting as one of the organizing directors of the Trust. Each had something of the autocrat in his make-up; both knew how to be mysteriously oracular on occasion. They were sufficiently similar to be mutually jarring. Not a crack, but a star marred the fine pottery so carefully moulded—to spread later, and do damage. The bank directors were learning their jobs amid a shower of Zionist criticism and anti-Zionist attack.

But none of this inner warfare reached the public. Herzl was in London. The English Zionists had built a real organization and together with their leader they decided to celebrate. They had been criticised for always preaching to the converted. So this time they held a mass meeting in the West End, at St. Martin's Town Hall—within gunshot of where Herzl had been rejected by the Maccabaeans in July 1896. Here, almost three years later, he addressed his followers in English.

The address was unusual in that Herzl began with a long story of an Arab's troubles with his ass, a simile of his own difficulties, but the real point of his address was an explanation of his policy. Obliquely he answered the Turkish minister in Washington and the "practical" Zionists.

"Just as it would be passing stupid to build a house without a plan, it would not be clever even to draw a plan until the building site had been legally acquired and secured. . . . The English system of leasehold tenure is virtually unknown on the continent. But such a legal arrangement applied to political conditions, I hope, I may bring about with the Turkish government. It is to be hoped that such an understanding may be effected. When the sovereignty of the Sultan is placed

beyond question, then the regulated immigration of Jews into Palestine will not be regarded as an encroachment upon Turkish possessions, but rather as a consolidation and enhancement of their value. I have been fortunate enough to secure most powerful advocates for these ideas and proposals. But as I am not in the happy position of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, I must remain absolutely silent concerning certain important and history making pourparlers in which I have taken part though it is necessary for me to refer to them lest our opponents declare I had nothing to say.

"When last autumn, before the journey to Palestine of the Zionist deputation, I hinted at coming events I knew some of the things that had been arranged. It is a most difficult task to deal with a situation where, on the one hand, in order to obtain the trust and good will of certain individuals it is necessary to remain silent, while on the other hand one is stormed with questions as to where we stand, what is our position, when, and when, and when?"

So much for diplomacy. Then for the first time he publicly discussed his proposed charter.

"The Bank . . . is the means for securing the charter which I suggested in my reference to a leasehold tenure. Our desire is to obtain from the Turkish Government a charter for the colonization of Palestine under the sovereignty of the Sultan. Turkey will gain unheard of profit when she permits the industrious, peaceful, and commercially-equipped Jews to develop the natural riches of the country. There are today but few Turkish statesmen who cannot see the utility of the Zionist movement from this point of view."

To the characteristic tumult of applause he responded in German. In moving words he spoke of the inner purpose he was seeking to effect. Better life, better culture, healthier children, happier mothers, a new re-blossoming Palestine—"Endless, endless is the ideal."



.. אז יבקע כשחר אור
וארוכתך מהרה תצמיח."

SOUVENIR CARD OF III ZIONIST CONGRESS.

CHAPTER XI.

MARCHING AND COUNTERMARCHING.

Third Congress—Viennese Jewry acknowledges him—Polna Blood Accusation—Roumanian refugees—Jewish Colonial Trust organized—Begins writing *Altneuland*—Forms friendship with Von Koerber—Fourth Zionist Congress in London—Meets Oscar S. Straus—Changes in administration of Palestine colonies.

IF BETWEEN the spring of 1899 and the spring of 1901 Herzl could have rid himself of the idea that by his position on the *Neue Freie Presse* he was "a porter" or a "clown and leader in one person—Moses had an easier position"—he might indeed have accomplished more for the movement. It was growing fast and as a problem in development, its organization might well have occupied all of a man's capacity and time. As it was he felt daily the difference between the leader, applauded and revered, and the journalist. "Messenger of Messrs. Bacher and Benedict I must appear daily at the office, even if I do little there." Sometimes he argued over what he should write. Occasionally he worried, particularly when he was travelling, whether the failure to publish a particular article from his pen was significant, and he feared, because of his long unauthorized absences on Zionist matters, to ask for a much needed vacation. There is no evidence that the proprietors of the newspaper, beyond their well defined policy of ignoring Zionism ever took the offensive with their literary editor. That his leadership of the Jews changed his relationships to the world at large was clearly not of their doing. Nor was it their fault that this leader lacked large independent

means, and that the majority of his followers were poor and untrained in pecuniary sacrifice.

"The poor Jews suffer from an extraordinary pest. Does one come forward who wishes to help them and can do it—I am positively convinced that through my personal intervention I quickened the forward action—then he is economically dependent and must tremble for his children's bread." Little wonder at one time he thought of asking Sir Francis Montefiore to accept at least the nominal leadership. "At the Congress I was master. Now I am again, like Ruy Blas, a servant."

Indeed Herzl took the offensive. An office rumor led him to offer to buy out one of the two owners, a suggestion that was speedily turned down. A turn in the Austrian political situation led him into a complicated and somewhat compromising negotiation with government officials who were looking to the founding of a new journal. That even here his first thought was of the cause and that he failed repeatedly in such efforts, because he introduced the Zionist issue, was merely characteristic of his unyielding single track mind.

Moreover his personal resources had become depleted through his Zionist work. He judged rightly, that he could not solve his problem by accepting a salary from the Zionists. At the moment they had no means available for such a purpose. But if they had, his opponents within the ranks would have been able to force their unwelcome policies on him, and the rest of the Jewish world would have withheld its respect from him. A "statesman without a state" could accept no pay. His resources beyond his pen were small, the income of his wife's modest dowry. About a third of his capital was spent in the cause by the summer of 1899, and for a year he

worked furiously to replace his losses. He revamped old dramas, wrote new ones, and even published under a nom de plume, a novel written when a youngster. Even in his literary work he had his troubles. Zionist friends felt his one-act plays were beneath his position as a world leader and the anti-Zionists hissed them because they were written by the leading Zionist. These professional and financial embarrassments did more to increase the recurrence of his heart attacks than his direct Zionist difficulties, either with the opponents of his policies or with the management of the Jewish Colonial Trust. He felt that if he were free to go wherever circumstances called he could accomplish things. That he could not do so galled him.

The difference between the journalist and the leader as described by an eye witness of incident, is characteristic of his whole life.

"Herzl's daily visits to Zionist headquarters in the Turkenstrasse were generally made between three and four o'clock. He always came direct from the *Neue Freie Presse* office. One afternoon a richly dressed patriarch came in with a letter from Dr. Tschlenow of Moscow. Herzl received him immediately. After the usual handshake Herzl asked what he could do for him. The white bearded man, tears running down his cheeks, kissed Herzl's hand and replied, 'After seeing and talking with you, great leader in Israel, I can die in peace.' Herzl's eyes, too, filled with moisture, and with a gesture of thanks he left the office, hiding his tears with a handkerchief."¹

Such incidents merely served to bring out the difference between high purpose and insufficiency of resources together with a lack of personal freedom. Pursuing his "combinations" he secured through Hechler an audience with the Grand Duke of Hesse, brother of the Czarina,

¹From the personal recollection of Samuel Epstein, now of Chicago.

"A good looking blond, slim, well nurtured, ruddy complexioned man about thirty," who knew nothing about either Zionism or Palestine. He thought the Czar "permits himself to be interested in such matters" and promised to talk to him. But the royal ignorance of geography left Herzl more than in doubt as to any action. Moreover, he wrote the author, "I have been ill for some time, and writing tires me."

It was in this depressing mood that he faced the meeting of the Third Congress. The Zionists in spite of diplomatic problems—Herzl's prerogative and responsibility—were in rather jubilant mood. The American Zionists came to Basle in some force. Argentine and Egypt issued credentials; picturesque Circassian Jews from the Caucasus, and many East European rabbis and business like delegates from South Africa were present. The English delegates were exceptionally satisfied with themselves. The "Lovers of Zion" had tried new tactics against them, but while they listened quietly to General Sir Charles Wilson holding forth in favor of colonization and against political Zionism, they booed the old official "Lovers of Zion," and their temporary supporters, Israel Abrahams and Rev. S. Singer, off a London platform. Their virile hold on East London was attested by the fact that Chief Rabbi Adler could not address his own flock in that section of London, except under Zionist protection. Even ridicule was resorted to stem the tide towards Zionism. The newly aroused interest in Hebrew suggested the quoting of "Lots Turks," and "Rand Mines" in Neo Hebrew as the language of the mart and the stock exchange.

The French Zionists, thanks to the Dreyfus affair, had aroused unusual public discussion of the cause.

Herzl's mind was elsewhere. The fact that he was coming empty handed to the Third Congress while a new storm of oppression was sweeping over Jewry depressed him. A comparison between the great inactive capital of the Jewish Colonisation Association and the small available capital of the Jewish Colonial Trust oppressed him. How could so little be of "service to the financial requirements of Turkey?" And the "practical" Zionists were already talking of using that little to help the colonists in Palestine. For the first time he felt at a disadvantage in every direction—personal differences over the organization of the Trust, slow response from the organizations, and no new political master stroke in sight.

He came in August to the Third Congress at Basle in the doldrums. There were more representative delegates than formerly and the English speaking group divided attention with the Russians as to numbers. The growth of the movement, which had even reached South Africa, was evident. Rabbis from Lida, Pietra, Sivenzianzy were present, as well as Dr. Chazanowitz of Bialystok, the founder of the Jerusalem Public Library. More American delegates were also present than at any previous congress. But Herzl was unaffected by the demonstrations of enthusiasm and displeased at the business like character of the congress. One delegate wrote, "The third congress was business like; its chief results were the confirmation of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and the passing of a code of the constitution, binding together into one immense organization Zionist societies throughout the world." At the same time Herzl wrote:

"On the first day, presiding was bitterly tedious, on the

second I was angry . . . the proceedings were as respectably sleepy as in a real parliament. . . . The third day was somewhat amusing . . . in the evening the general meeting of the Colonial Bank. A parade, a statistical presentation, to wit, a presentation of statistics. But very effective. . . . The congress ended smoothly. A good atmosphere was again created which however will be soon dissipated. . . . On the fourth day I was very tired."

For once he was an indifferent recorder of events. It was an uneven congress, the first in which Herzl was on the defensive, and the attacks came from many quarters. An explanation of his London address was demanded. He was asked to explain what he meant by "charter." Did it provide less security than the Basle Program stood for.

Dr. Gaster, with whom he formally resumed friendship, was in his judgment a schismatic. Because he was reporting the Dreyfus trial, Nordau could be present only one day. Issuing "founders shares" of the Trust to a group—a mere formality as far as they were individually concerned—proved a stumbling block to the orderly process of business. Herzl had lost none of his hold over the mass of the delegates; every threatened impasse was overcome by a vote of confidence in him, but he had no liking for organization tactics and personal politics which the natural growth of the movement had brought into existence. The transformation of a free movement into a concrete organization with a well defined constitution, the crowning work of this congress, was not to his liking. He wanted a popular responsive movement, quick to action and involving little red tape.

Leon Kellner told him "the movement is all noise" and he answered "noise is something, in fact a great deal." Yet it was not noise that he sought—he hated

that too. Had someone suggested a "junta" attached to the organization by a "liaison officer," he might have responded favorably. One incident at an informal gathering in that congress loomed large a few years later. Mr. Davis Trietsch addressed a group of delegates on "Cyprus, as a side door entrance to Palestine," and the Russian delegates ran out of the room crying "shame." Trietsch's suggestion was not wholly new. Three attempts were made between 1883 and 1891 to settle Russian and Roumanian families on the island. The local attitude was not favorable, though the area of the island is large and it has at all times been only sparsely populated. According to one of the original immigrants who was numbered among the author's earliest Zionist acquaintances the first Russian migration to Cyprus was a side tracking of the Palestinean colonisation movement, the settlers believing whilst they would be in the neighborhood of Palestine they would at the same time come under the freedom and security of the British flag. However, they found themselves remote from Palestine and English rule and oppressed by the anti-Jewish attitude of the Greek Cypriots. The Congress opposition to Trietsch was sentimental, but it hardened into a practical objection to Jews exchanging one anti-Semitic area for another. Nevertheless Herzl tried to force the congress to permit Trietsch to make out his case. "Kultur" made itself felt and heard again and that thoroughly displeased the leader. In all probability Herzl was also baffled by the efforts of the English speaking delegates to introduce English parliamentary methods of procedure—a system that puts the "chair" at considerable disadvantage when endeavoring to exercise personal control. Hitherto the congress system had given the chair the option of select-

ing the order of presentation of motions and amendments.

Herzl was in greater haste than his followers, and his address in defense of his diplomatic efforts betrayed this. Challenged that he had said too much in London, he answered that he had not said enough. His opening address conveyed his attitude clearly. It was, it will be recalled, his first congress address after his reception by the German Emperor, and he thus answered for his stewardship of the cause.

“An important event, which as usual was partly passed over in silence and partly made public in a distorted form, was the reception of the Zionist deputation by the German Emperor in Jerusalem. The fact alone that the German Emperor had given his attention to our National Idea would have sufficed to give us confidence. Insignificant movements are not noticed in such high quarters. But something more ensued than mere taking cognizance of a movement. It was not a Jewish deputation . . . but a delegation of the Zionist Actions Comité that was received. . . . You will understand that propriety demands that no use for purposes of agitation shall be made . . . of the Jerusalem reception given under such auspices. . . . The absolute legality and loyalty of our movement which has been so highly honored is after this event placed forever beyond question. Naturally we lay the deepest stress on giving proof of this loyalty above all to the Turkish Government.

“What is to be the nature of our achievement? We will say it in one word, a Charter! Our exertions are directed towards obtaining a charter from the Turkish Government. A Charter under the sovereignty of His Majesty the Sultan. Not until we are in possession of this charter, which must embody the necessary public legal guarantees, can we commence a great practical colonization. In return for the grant of this charter we shall afford the Turkish Government great advantages. These transactions can, however, not emanate from congresses, which do not possess the necessary legal qualifications for such a purpose. For the purpose of these arrange-

ments a special partnership must be created. This is the Jewish Colonial Trust.

"The present situation of the Jews bends towards three directions. The first is the apathetic submission to insult and misery. The other is a revolt against a step-motherly society. Ours is the third way, to soar upwards to a higher degree of civilization, to promote the general welfare, to prepare new paths for intercourse among the nations, and to seek an awakening for social justice. And just as our beloved poet gave forth songs out of his woes, so do we prepare out of our sufferings progress for mankind which we serve."

Nordau's address was long and bitter. He described the anti-Zionists as men with "the eyes of moles and the brains of sparrows . . . renegades and Tartuffes." He came direct from the Dreyfus trial at Rennes and returned there. He saw things darkly—black.

"The Jewish Nation which has an indestructible vitality would have overcome most catastrophes if it had always enjoyed the same conditions of life as other nations. But these conditions were not always at hand, are not here today; we are living like troglodytes, in perpetual darkness. To us the sun of justice is not shining—we are living like animals in the depth of the ocean. Upon us press the weight of a thousand atmospheres of mistrust and disdain."

Though the *Allegemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* announced that Zionism had sung "its swan song or rather its death rattle," our own notes record the fact that "the parliamentarianism of this congress" was "a great achievement." "When I reached Basle I found the feeling for outward unity had overcome all the inward differences of which so much had been made in the spring. Colonisation and Kultur were the rocks on which it had been threatened the congress would split. These issues became manifest but were not so serious at Basle as we

had anticipated." To the author immediately after the congress Herzl wrote, "Now something great is under way. I cannot give you any details before it has been arranged. We must collect all our available resources for this purpose."

II.

Only in perspective had he recognized that "official delegates from twelve hundred Zionist groups demonstrated the gains of the Third Congress."¹ But fate was carrying the movement along by means of the typical calumny. Whilst Dreyfus was occupying the world stage in Western Europe, Central European Jewry was being excited by the arrest of Leopold Hilsner on the charge of having murdered a nineteen year old girl, Agnes Hruza, for Blood Ritual purposes, in the neighborhood of Polna, Bohemia. Hilsner, a shiftless creature of low intelligence, was tried on this charge and condemned. By a ruse he was induced to confess his guilt, and even to name other Jews as his accomplices in a murder for religious purposes. Hilsner recanted his confession, and thanks largely to the able defense of Prof. Mazaryk, now President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. (Many years later Hilsner was absolved from all guilt).

At the moment the anti-Semites were jubilant and were expressing joy by arranging riots in Polna, Kuttenberg, and other small Bohemian towns. This vile expression of Jew-hatred was not without effect on Viennese Jewry. The Zionist ranks were filling, and they objected to mere protest meetings on the part of the official Jewish community. But Herzl made no political capital

¹Theodor Herzl, *Zionistische Schriften*, pt. 2, p. 109.

out of the incident. Instead he advised the leaders of Viennese Jewry to raise funds for the fugitives. But they were afraid that if anything were done beyond holding protest meetings all the poor Bohemian Jews would flock to Vienna.

This selfish fear on the part of the "upper Jews" deepened Herzl's contempt for them and only added to his determination to achieve. If he could not make headway with Turkey then he would appeal to England to permit a settlement in Cyprus.

"In any event I believe, that after the next congress we must go on the soil, on some soil. I could precipitate this, were I a free man and could travel as occasion demands."

Herzl's view of the Cyprus possibility was expressed in a letter to Davis Trietsche, the instigator of the idea Jewish settlement in the island. "In my judgment it is the ultimate ratio if we gain nothing elsewhere; and a useful combination if we succeed. The latter I regard as very probable, although I must publicly hold myself in great reserve. Believe me I will not forget your project even if I do not regard this as the right moment for dealing with it."

"Viennese Jews no longer hold the same antagonistic attitude toward Zionism as in the past years," wrote an anti-Zionist in December. "The occurrences in Galicia, Bohemia, and Moravia, the sad incidents of Vienna, the growing distress among our poor Jewish people whom the rich Jews will not and cannot help, the successful progress of clericalism and anti-Semitism, thus leading to an anti-Semitic cabinet—all these motives have paved the way for a change that is taking place, slowly it is true, but not the less emphatically." The union of

Bohemian rabbis joined the movement, and Herzl publicly took part in the celebration of the Feast of Lights in Vienna.

The situation in Palestine was however unfavorable. As one correspondent from Jerusalem sarcastically put it, "The Sultan evidently agrees with Zionism, for he is decidedly against the infiltration of Jews to Palestine," information which was arousing the ire of the Lovers of Zion faction in the Russian organization.

And while this storm was brewing there came to Vienna, Oscar S. Straus, American Minister to Turkey, travelling leisurely westward. "Met Oscar Straus the American Minister in Hotel Imperial, Vienna. He is of middle height, dun red beard, hook nose, Jewish sloping ears, sandy hair, 48 years old, dry, 'smart,' but sympathetic eyes.

"After four minutes we were intimate, though he began by telling me that I had the reputation of being indiscreet. However he did not blame me for my carelessness, because in so great a matter individuals could not be protected. He, being an official, was neither for nor against Zionism. . . . Palestine we could not obtain. The Greek and Roman churches would not permit it. I answered that I regarded Rome only as an opponent. My deep reasons for this I forgot to tell him, viz: that Rome is as aecumenical as Judaism. Rome is the rich brother who hates the poor one. The other churches are national and therefore do not need the leverage of Jerusalem.

"Straus favors Mesopotamia! He knew that more than a year ago Cyrus Adler sent me at the request of Judge Mayer Sulzberger a pamphlet on Mesopotamia.

"Mesopotamia could be obtained. There was no church rivalry there, and it was the original home of Israel. Abraham came from Mesopotamia. For that reason we could bring in some mysticism. . . .

"Straus spoke sharply of the blackguard crew in and around Yildiz Kiosk. All power was united in the Sultan's fist—min-

isters, idiots, and cowardly purchasable youngsters. The Sultan sneered at the whole of Turkey. Talk of 'humanity' and the like could yield nothing. Yes, if he saw gold, or some other advantage, he might be won. But all talk, discussion, or negotiation with others was worthless. Either direct action with the Sultan or nothing.

"I told him of the prospects that had come my way a fortnight ago but had not been realized. He pressed me hard to tell him the name of my intermediary. I declined to answer and thus gave proof of my discretion. He tried to guess who it could be. I let him guess.

"We separated as friends. I allowed him to promise me that he would tip me off when he could be useful by using as a confidential signature 'Mesopotamicus.'"¹

There were no tips and Herzl was never seriously interested in Mesopotamia.

The proposal to transfer the administration of the Rothschild colonies to the Jewish Colonisation Association was negotiated during 1899 and accomplished before the end of the year. Herzl followed eagerly, every detail the author confidentially furnished, and when the arrangement was announced finally in *Die Welt* he smote hard and heavy:

"What has Baron Edmond de Rothschild with all his good will and the expenditure of many millions, achieved? A figure, quoted at the last meeting of the Anglo Jewish Association gives the answer. Edmond de Rothschild has settled 470 families, spell it out, four hundred and seventy families. 'The mountain in labor brought forth a mouse.' Four hundred and seventy families. In one single street in Cracow, or Vienna, or Bucharest, or Warsaw, or in the East End of London, or in New York there live more poverty

¹In his *Under Four Administrations* (1922) Mr. Straus briefly mentions the interview. Herzl was "of attractive appearance . . . full of energy, beaming with idealism. . . . As to the 'charter' I suggested that it might be best for him to go to Constantinople and personally take up such negotiations."

stricken families, victims of Jewish misery. And even these four hundred and seventy were not aided. For the help would only be complete if the colonists were independent. . . . And now we are officially informed that these splendid colonies are still dependent on the Baron. They weigh heavily on his purse; that he wishes to limit his sacrifices is implied in the transference to the I. C. A. Something else is clear. In a word, Edmond de Rothschild recognizes that his 'philanthropic' method cannot bring happiness to his troublesome colonies, not even to his four hundred and seventy families—to say nothing of solving the Jewish Question."

"Great things cannot be undertaken on a small scale." Although he attacked the Baron and paid his compliments in sarcastic form to several others, Herzl regarded the transfer of the colonies as a move in the right direction. He thought it would initiate a grouping of colonising efforts that might become useful. Moreover he laid great stress on the fact that Mr. Claude G. Montefiore, president of the Anglo Jewish Association and a member of the council of the I. C. A., in an academic address on Jewish history had made admissions about Jewish nationalism. This seemed to indicate a change in the views he had held in 1896. Herzl did not sufficiently appreciate the difference between philosophic admission and practical current policy. This change in the administration of the Palestinean settlements, which but for Herzl would have been ignored at the time, became a year later a first class issue in Zionism.

III.

The war between England and the Boers was not to be without effect on the wide sweep of Herzl's Jewish policy. At one moment, in order to obtain the good will of the Czar, and to establish personal contact with Lord

Salisbury, the English premier, Herzl, acting upon the suggestion of the peace advocate, Ivan Stanislavovich Bloch, conveyed a message to London that the British-Boer differences might be arbitrated by the newly created Hague Court. But England declined this advice. In April the Grand Duke of Baden, in order to clarify the impossibility of Germany considering the old idea of a Palestinian protectorate, told him in great detail the inwardness of the German concern over the British reverses in South Africa. To them world peace seemed at stake.

The disingenuousness of diplomacy rolled easily from the Grand Duke's lips. If, he suggested, and in Herzl's ears it sounded as though he was repeating von Bulow's words, England could not succeed in conquering the Boers she might provoke a conflict elsewhere in order to withdraw from South Africa out of "consideration for more important interests." England, he continued, was probably thinking of such a diversion. She would not attack Russia. The French fleet was too powerful to invite attack. Germany's fleet was still too small for adequate defense at sea and she had a great merchant marine. Germany would avoid every occasion which would provoke England. She could not prevent a blockade. "Before our fleet will be ready, fifteen years must pass. Our trade, and our industry however, grow daily in volume, reasons for satisfaction and worry." These fifteen years of preparation ended on April 18, 1915. Excellent prevision if not absolute prophecy on the part of the Grand Duke.

Herzl, who had other business in England, proceeded there and discussed the war situation with Alfred Austin, the poet laureate, with whom he had formed a friend-

ship. Austin repeated the words of the Canadian Premier, "It will be to the eternal glory of England, that she was not prepared for this war." He suggested, on the basis of the Grand Duke's conversation, the establishment of an entente between Germany and England. He knew Germany feared "a naval war with England, which could ruin German trade and industry."

It was clear that England meditated no attack on Germany, Austin tried to arrange a meeting, but Lord Salisbury was too busy to receive Herzl, who was wholly pro-British—"If I lived in England I would perhaps be a Jingo." But he was playing chess for Palestine. A pawn move! He had tried another at the beginning of the year. Acting on the advice of the Grand Duke of Baden, a report was drawn up by Alexander Marmorek for the Czar. Herzl's accompanying letter of Nov. 22, 1899, was, as he says, vague, phrase filling, courtly.

"Like Scheherezade I seek less to satisfy than to increase the desire for more stories."

"It is to the graciousness of His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden, who has deigned to become the high interpreter of my humble request for an audience with Your Imperial Majesty, that I owe the permission to submit the Zionist project for the definite solution of the Jewish Question.

"The Zionists wish to help their unfortunate brethren, withdraw themselves from ruinous doctrines, and conduct them towards the path of a higher morality in the interest of all humanity.

"The enclosed plan contains only the main lines of this project. So as not to be too long, I confined myself to giving only some general outlines. As to the numerous questions of detail I am ever at the disposition of Your Majesty. Of the manner in which we could carry out this project, on the ways and means of its realization an oral explanation would be of great advantage. If I venture, therefore, to humbly solicit the

favor of presenting myself at St. Petersburg or at any other place that it please Your Majesty to name, it is in the supreme interest of the cause to which I have devoted myself. The solution of this painful question would be a great and grand act, worthy of our times, and worthy of the most magnanimous Sovereign."

The Grand Duke reported that the statement was well received in St. Petersburg, and Herzl, learning from Mandelstamm that the Russian police were pressing the Zionists to close their offices, sent Mandelstamm "a copy of the memorandum to the Czar as an amulet against this evil."

And whilst at this period playing master moves directly against the intrenched castle of Yildiz, another opportunity was presented for his skill at this complex political game. Austrian police regulations forbade the collection of subscriptions for the Jewish Colonial Trust. To overcome this disability Herzl visited Ernest von Koerber, Prime Minister, whom he found well informed as to the movement, and who readily consented to the activities of the Zionists in Upper Austria and Galicia, provided they kept within the law and "looked between the meshes of their fingers."

The Prime Minister was not anti-Jewish; on the contrary, he deplored the fact that politics required that he should yield so much to the anti-Semites. A real friendship developed and Koerber acquired the habit of summoning Herzl for consultation on local and national Austrian politics. The government was reforming the electoral system and sought to fend off the attacks which it anticipated would be made by the Liberal opposition. Herzl revised Koerber's state papers and was able to influence the *Neue Freie Presse*, which championed Lib-

eralism, to take a moderate stand. He took the ground that Koerber was better for the Jews than most of his predecessors, and if he were displaced would likely be followed by one of the Bohemian aristocrats, the group the Jews feared most. Slowly and indirectly Herzl was endeavoring, in exchange for his advice on the general situation, so to influence Koerber that the solution of the Jewish Question should become part of the government policy for righting the internal affairs of the state—in which attempt he was not particularly successful.

Koerber was a good talker, an excellent listener, but a man of impromptu decisions. He invited Herzl to read his parliamentary addresses on the new electoral system he was about to introduce in Austria, urged him to rewrite addresses for him, sent advance sheets to the press, and then in Parliament, not only used different words, but followed an entirely new policy. Herzl advised shrewdly, working out complicated details, but this contact started in January could not be effectively used till June, and even then there was no response, only slow grinding effort.

IV.

But these were moves on the world chess board against players having other interests, who were playing entirely different games. Within Jewish life another original drama was being enacted. The endless persecution of the Jews in Roumania had reached the limit of human endurance. Suddenly the Jewish youth was on foot, silently, orderly, marching out of Roumania westward and eastward; dust covered and bedraggled, a battalion of well disciplined young men who seized the wanderer's staff and were proceeding in organized form to

leave their inhospitable homeland, and in this wise to make known their protest against governmental persecution.

Roumania was expelling all those Jews who voiced their protest against oppression, and to these were added those who protested against this final outrage. Jewish residence had been limited to the chief cities, peddling was forbidden, educational rights were limited, free speech restricted, Jewish trade boycotted, Jewish schools suppressed, native Jews treated as aliens. It was hoped by these means to break the Jews intellectually and physically. And in answer thereto began a march across the highways of the world.

Nordau strongly favored this march of the Roumanians. Herzl feared disaster. In spite of his attitude, Herzl was accused of instigating this march as a Zionist demonstration. In a measure it was, though the method initiated was spontaneous with the fugitives, who expected Herzl to open all frontiers for them. Telegrams poured in from Jassy, Botoshani, and soon from every western frontier where the migrants were stopped. Herzl's efforts at intervention failed and his suspicion that the frontiers had been closed at the instance of the Vienna Allianz later proved true.

To Minister President von Koerber he wrote: "Unhappy Roumanian Jews, the poorest of the poor, are at the frontier at Itzkany." The poor wanderers begged him to meet them. "The philanthropists of Vienna make no move and I have no means of succor for the poor"—a trying situation. He visited the bedraggled troop that straggled through Vienna, and he thought, "My first men in Palestine will look like these."

The occasion was ripe for action. Had he ventured

to set himself at the head of these desperate fugitives and called for help from his followers the world might have witnessed an "emigration strike" that would have made the Jews as well as the various governments understand. But pressing upon the leader were the responsibilities of wife and children. It was only months after when Herzl was again in better physical shape—he had had a fainting spell followed by a long illness—while discussing the Roumanian situation with the author that he realized that physical action was at times the only practical political action—even equal to a diplomatic move. But in May 1900, apart from consent to the proposal that the Fourth Congress be held in London, he was wholly preoccupied with effecting his Sultan "combinations" to the exclusion of all else.

Instead of attempting to foment such a strike he decided on another attack upon Turkey. Her financial needs were greater than ever and if he could present an offer seriously supported by Jewish bankers he might succeed. He therefore turned to London for aid. To the author, well in advance of his arrival in London, he wrote on April 9, 1900:

"I want no money for Zionism, but wish to secure their cooperation in a certain eventuality. If Lord Rothschild will not meet me at Sir Francis' I shall have to decide to call at his house. How to arrange this I leave to my friends. . . . How far I shall be prepared to report details to Lord R., Montagu, Claude Montefiore, etc., I do not know now, as it depends on a discussion I am to have with an important personage before I leave Vienna. . . . There are good reasons against a mass meeting . . . but it would be desirable to summon all the Federation leaders to meet on April 22. . . . If Selibman desires, let him arrange the interview with Lord R. That would please me most. But I look to Gaster to find

a way. I rather like the idea of a dinner, though as you know I am no friend of such affairs. I am more for deeds than for speeches and demonstrations. But I understand the opportunity in which one can present the latest phases of the situation without fearing to employ the cheap rhetorical effects one must employ at mass meetings. . . . Perhaps the Maccabaeans would give it. . . . It must be an affair at which I can as easily be silent as voluble. Silent, in case it seems shrewder to be silent about the event I am anticipating, than to speak about it publicly. . . . Moreover the war conditions suggest a public meeting as inexpedient.

"There are special reasons why an approach to the London Rothschilds through the Viennese Baron is impracticable. As you understand I could arrange through one or another of our friends to meet him any day I choose. But owing to my journalistic position and the fact that I may one day be compelled to attack him, I do not desire to come in contact with him. I want to remain wholly free where he is concerned and that is very difficult once one has had friendly relations with anyone."

Apart from devoting a good deal of time to the rehearsing of his new play, "Gretel," which was a pronounced success, he had been in keen correspondence with his unofficial agents in Turkey. "I want the favor of an audience with the Caliph—and may God put into my mouth the arguments that will convince the Caliph." Word had reached him that Lord Salisbury being asked why he took no interest in Zionism had answered, "Patience, it is coming." To Herzl, with his fondness for weaving diplomatic combinations, it appeared that the indirect result of the Boer war would be an aroused interest in Asia Minor. Either Germany would control it or England. His German support had been negative. He would now turn to England, secure, from the assurances of the Grand Duke of Baden, that Germany would not oppose England in Palestine. Still angling for a

German Imperial introduction to the Sultan he began seriously calculating on the possibilities of Anglo-Jewish support for his financial plans. The response was not favorable. Turkey's bad financial reputation and opposition to Zionism combined to make an *impassé*.

Another reason that brought him to London was the sharp difference that had developed over the management of the Jewish Colonial Trust, first with S. L. Heyman, a rich South African, proprietor of the London *Jewish World*. He had helped to found the Trust, then speedily withdrew. Then Jacobus Kann resigned and even Wolffsohn sided with the Dutch banker. A furious correspondence ensued in which Herzl wrote to Wolffsohn (May 7) accusing the latter of looking for an excuse to resign, but for his part, "I am willing to build a golden bridge for Kann's return, if he will agree to commit no more foolish tricks." Reproaching Wolffsohn, "I cannot comprehend your talking about my intended frivolous experiments with the Bank. You who know all my thoughts, my readiness for sacrifices, and my serious parental circumspection in all Zionist affairs . . . I will not be my own minister, that is to say, administrator of the Bank."

Wolffsohn replied that he was neither "tired, nor looking for an excuse to resign. I shall never leave you and Zionism voluntarily," and he denied that he regarded Herzl as having frivolous ideas: "On the contrary what I am afraid of is that you have too honest a disposition for such a money matter, as the Bank. You believe in the right and are afraid of no one. This I fear will lead you into danger. You lack that practical experience that forces one to consider what other people think to be right." Presently the differences were

composed and Kann returned to his post in the directorate of the Trust.

The Jewish situation remained precarious. Prior to issuing the call for the congress at Herzl's instigation the author publicly announced that if the anti-Zionists were willing to meet the Zionists in conference, to discuss the Jewish question at large, the date of the Zionist Congress would be postponed. To this suggestion there was no response and the conditions prevailing were summarized in the following challenging letter.¹

(1) A battalion of infantry has been sent to Konitz in West Prussia, to quell the riot that resulted from the local Blood Accusation. (2) In Russia the Jews are impenned in the Pale of Settlement, starving in Bessarabia, and fleeing wherever possible. (3) In Roumania, persecuted, pillaged, mobbed, disfranchised, denuded, compelled to starve—emigrating with all possible haste. (4) In Galicia, beggared, persecuted, kidnapped—endeavoring to emigrate. (5) In Austria, ostracized. (6) In Germany, vilified, in press and parliament, boycotted. (7) In France, ostracized, abused and denied justice. (8) In Holland, owing to lack of employment, starving. (9) In Bulgaria, persecuted and emigrating. (10) In Italy, attacked by the local Catholic press. (11) In Morocco, beaten, cuffed, and kicked as dictated by the passing whim. (12) In England restrictive immigration legislation feared in the near future. (13) In America, restrictive immigration legislation in force and signs of anti-Semitism accumulating.

At that moment it was anticipated that 50,000 Jews would leave Roumania and it became necessary for the author to issue on behalf of Dr. Herzl and the Actions Comite "an unqualified denial to the statement that he or the committee have in any way directed the emigration of Roumanian Jews to England. . . . The very last thing the Zionists desire is the movement of a mass of Jews

¹*Jewish World*, London, and other publications, June 15, 1900.

until such time as the stream can be organized and directed towards Palestine.”¹

V.

Despite the fact that both the Boer War and the Chinese Boxer uprising clouded the English situation, and in addition the Jewish mind was presumably distracted with immigration problems and Roumanian persecutions, the Fourth Congress opened in London August 1, 1900. Though Herzl did not originate the plan he supported this departure from Basle in order to consolidate and strengthen British opinion in favor of Zionism, to win the wealthy Jews by a mass attack, and achieve real publicity for the cause. And he had a vague hope that the British government, hitherto coy to the movement, would thereby become approachable. He wrote most hopefully what he expected would be accomplished by holding the congress in London:

“In Bible loving England ‘God’s ancient people’ are not hated. . . . Political Zionism therefore goes to London to present itself officially to the English world and at the same time to request its support; mark well—only moral and political support. We can, and may only, as hitherto, expect that the building up of our great work will result from the power of the Jewish people. It is an important moment. We shall speak in London to a greater public than in Basle . . . only when the power of our movement is as clear in its presentation (God knows our plight is great) as the misery of our masses and the justice of our views—only then can we hope to win great England for Zionism.”

He came to London well ahead of the date set for the first public gathering but was suddenly stricken with

¹London *Jewish World*, June 29, 1900.



DELEGATE'S CARD DESIGNED FOR THE FOURTH CONGRESS BY
I. SNOWMAN.

a severe illness. Some weeks before he had suffered another fainting spell in the office of *Die Welt* and this time he was seriously alarmed. "Malaria or the encroachment of tuberculosis of the lungs" was his own diagnosis and he wrote, "I did not believe I would open the congress."

That his family should not learn of his illness through the press, he insisted on concealment, and as his fevered condition increased, his friends became concerned. Herzl demanded that if he must submit to a physician, one be found who had studied in Vienna and was a Zionist. These conditions allowed Dr. L. Liebster to volunteer his services and the leader's appreciation was shown in the letter informing his wife, "I am being nursed as you thoughtfully nurse our children when they are ill." Only partially recovered he attended the meeting of the Greater Actions Comite and by sheer will, took part in the great welcoming meeting to the delegates, led the discussions, and performed all his duties as presiding officer of the congress.

The Fourth Congress! A "demonstration" Congress in London. Four hundred delegates floundered among the mazes of the criss cross streets of a city whose vastness in turn amazed and humbled them. The number of events on the program compelled the organizers to issue a coupon book for the delegates. The Queen's Hall, Langham Place, was the meeting place. But the delegates had "to do" the City, in order to see that their Bank was located in the financial district. They had to go East of Whitechapel to witness how London Jews in thousands could welcome Zionists. And they enjoyed a monster garden party in the Royal Botanic Gardens where a Jewish band provided music.

They closed the congress with that thoroughly English institution, a banquet.

"The Congress in numbers," Herzl noted, "is the largest hitherto. Its proceedings are already in the newspapers. . . . A new note was the garden party. . . . The whole public waltzed around me in compact mass. I would gladly have enjoyed seeing this beautiful English garden but was choked with royal honors. They marvelled at me as I drank a cup of tea. Children, ladies, were presented to me, greybeards wanted to kiss my hands. I have always at such moments the desire to ask, 'Excuse me, why do you do this?'"

"The enthusiasm," wrote an opponent, "is almost as intense as at Basle and even English spectators caught the enthusiasm" of the garden party. "Herzl was the hero of the day and he was mobbed wherever he went." At the mass meeting Zangwill made his first appearance on the Zionist platform though he stated "I am not a Zionist officially." Nordau astonished the audience by speaking in fine flowing English on "Zion expects every man to do his duty." Herzl's presence after his illness created a storm of enthusiasm. He spoke briefly developing Zangwill's picture of the rescue of Judaism at the fall of Jerusalem by a great teacher having been borne out of the city in a coffin. Herzl said, "We are thankful that ancient Judaism was rescued in a coffin. But we new Jews think it is time to open the coffin so that we may lead Judaism resuscitated, full of life, to our land."

In his presidential address to the congress he spoke of "England, one of the last remaining places on earth where there is freedom from Jew hatred." The sessions were long and confusing owing to the many items on the agenda. The attempt to discuss Kultur failed,

Herzl declaring that "religious questions were entirely excluded from the program." But of serious organization business the fourth congress accomplished little. "Much noise, perspiration and drum beating . . . in spite of which the result was advantageous. We manifested ourselves to the English world, and our manifestation was observed." The newspaper reports were full and friendly. Herzl met Lord Salisbury's private Secretary and piqued the latter's curiosity about the movement.

This Secretary, Eric Barrington, participated in a rather curious incident. On the Sunday after the congress adjourned, Herzl, Wolffsohn, Sir Francis Montefiore, Israel Zangwill, Joseph Cowen, Leopold J. Greenberg, several others and the author participated in a steamer party up the Thames. Mr. Barrington and another Foreign Office official were among the guests.

"Without incident the launch steamed up the river. The well known reaches, the velvet lawns on either side, the evident cultivation of England's historic river, the punts and their occupants, the peace of this well known scene impressed Herzl and the visitors. They gossiped aimlessly, restfully after the strain of the Congress. Suddenly, as the launch rounded the Staines winding, one of the most abrupt turns in the river, they faced Windsor Castle.

"The Royal Standard was fluttering in a light breeze from the top of the Round Tower. All rose and saluted the flag. Then moved by a common impulse we grouped together on that narrow deck and facing the flag began to sing the Hatikvah. I think Zangwill's voice was the first that caught my ear. But Herzl joined quickly. Here we were sailing up that almost rippleless

Thames, the leader of Zionism leading greeting the pride of England with Israel's unqualified hope, in what had become consecrated as the national anthem.

"Barrington asked the meaning of the song. Its nationalist implication he had gathered from our reverent attitude and expressed his appreciation of the compliment. So Herzl and his comrades greeted the Royal Standard that Sunday afternoon. The brief drama, the tense outburst of emotion, remained with me the rest of the day. For hours I saw Herzl standing there looking at the Emblem of England and answering it proudly—*Hatikvah*."¹

Herzl's Congress address was thoughtful, critical, and touched deeply on the Roumanian question.

"In the year 1898, when the Second Congress was held at Basle, the following words were said. 'The land of Palestine is not only the home of the highest ideas and of the most unhappy nation, but it is also by reason of its geographical position, of immense importance to the whole of Europe. In time, and to my mind the time is not far distant, a road of civilization and commerce will lead to Asia. Asia is the diplomatic problem of the next decade.'

"These words of 1898 today sound banal, so amply have they been confirmed by the events of the last few months. The Asiatic problem grows from day to day more serious, and will, I fear, for some time be deeply tinged with blood. It is thus of increasing importance to the nations of civilization that on the road to Asia—the shortest road to Asia—there should be set up a post of civilization, which would be at the service of civilized mankind. This post is Palestine, and we are those who are ready with our blood and our substance to provide this post for civilization.

"Any student of politics must perceive, quick as lightning, that here is presented a valuable opportunity for providing an easy approach to Asia. On this post of civilization, which will speedily be set up by the powerless Jewish people, under the

¹From the author's notes.

suzerainty of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, no power need look with apprehension. The Jews would be helped, others also, and at the same time; but the greatest gainer of all would be the Turkish Empire.

"England, great England, free England, England commanding all the seas, will understand our aims. We may be certain that from here the Zionist idea will take its flight to higher and more distinct regions."

Then he turned immediately to face the opponents of the movement.

"As usual, the practical people, the wiseacres, will put to us the query, 'What will you have gained by that?' We are well acquainted with these people. We shall recall to memory the obstacles that they have planted in our way, every disagreeable action they desired to take and have taken. These very people were never weary of asking 'What have you really achieved? Have you already arrived at any definite point, and when will your object be attained?' Had they helped us with all their strength instead of hindering us in our purpose with all their might, they could not have plied us with a greater number of queries.

"Those co-operating in the building, from the highest to the lowest, from the master-builder and assistants to the humblest hod-carrier, did not trouble us with so many questions. We know one thing, that we have labored, and that we are undismayed, full of hope and enthusiasm. We build, and our structure rises higher and higher. It is not given to everyone to comprehend what is but partially accomplished. I am convinced, however, that those Jews who now stand aside sneering, with their hands in their pockets, will desire to live in our beautiful house.

"There is, however, one positive question to be replied to, and we have not the slightest intention of avoiding it. Have we already obtained the charter for the re-settlement of Palestine? To that we answer, No. There is the other question, whether we are still to hope for, still to strive for, and continue to labor to secure this Charter? To that we say, just as distinctly and unhesitatingly, Yes. The more numerous we are and the more forcible our power grows, the stronger are

the probabilities that our demands and our proposals will be realized. Today we have reason to be fully satisfied with the reception accorded to our aspiration by those within the circle of the highest position on this earth. Do not ask more than this from your Actions Comite, in whom, in this respect we must have absolute confidence. Regarding all other matters concerned, full information will be given."

He pressed forward his characteristic charge that the great Jewish leaders had failed to meet the Jewish emergency.

"Our activity and its progress may be summed up in one word. We are organizing Jewry for the destiny that awaits it. I, however, would wish to raise the question for all, and we would like to ask our Jewish opponents what they have done during the past year towards the amelioration of the trouble and wide-spread distress of our brethren. Where are their results? What have they achieved? Have they created aught that is practical? We always hear of committees, great collections, and large endowments. Let us have some daylight upon the results. Will someone tell us what has been accomplished? For we are earnestly desirous of admiring their work and showing our gratitude to them in the name of the poverty-stricken. It is a terribly earnest question, one dictated, not, I assure you, by spleen. You all well know the awful case of the wanderings of the Roumanian Jews, which have been like a trail of blood flowing through Europe. Where was official Jewry? Where were the acclaimed great ones of Israel, the pillars of the community? 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' A few thousand fugitives were woefully and fearfully moved on, with an assurance of incapacity to do anything else. Those who followed may be numbered in their hundreds, and their wanderings were regulated by the aid of armed forces. Hustled together in emigrant trains they were once more thrown across the frontier, which they had just crossed, amid cries of anguish. These special trains were official Jewry's last efforts of pity."

He pressed home his charge that Jewish philanthropy was not even efficient in its own chosen field.

"The banking account of the assimilators constitutes one of the most powerful arguments for the Zionist. Recent events have provided us with a new argument, and upon it there stares us in the face the insolvency of the philanthropic. 'What!' you will ask, 'insolvency?' Aye. When the rich stop payment then many are lost. But it is none the less true, for the charitable organizations pleaded that they were not prepared for such a run upon them. That was their fault, they should have followed the details of our Congresses. To the first Basle Congress in 1897 there was presented a petition of 50,000 Roumanian Jews. They cried for help because the distress was extreme. They said they could bear their troubles scarcely another hour, and yet they had to endure it for a further period of three years. This fear of galling grinding misery we now think of with a shudder, now that these poor people have become wanderers. Of this terrible matter you will learn further details in the course of the proceedings. One would think that all this crass misery, the impossibility of securing a home for the fugitives, the failure of all further relief measures, should have convinced the most obstinate of our opponents of the fact that we Zionists are alone in possession of the only true remedy. No. No right is to be conceded to us.

"On the contrary, we are accused of having been the instigators of these pitiful wanderings in order to provide us with means for carrying on the agitation. We declare this to be an untruth. We have never initiated or recognized such an aimless emigration. We have ever replied to the enquiries of those desiring to emigrate with words counselling patience. We have warned them of the impending catastrophe which we all could foresee. When people, planless, aimless, and penniless took the wanderer's staff in their hands, all our efforts were of no avail, and when these poor Jews scourged by sufferings began to wander, we assisted them liberally although we could not do much as we have made no provision for grants for benevolent purposes.

"But this catastrophe, I fear not the last, which is still with us, should give Zionists an earnest warning. We certainly cannot rest contented, looking upon this as confirmation of the truth of our theory. Practical results must follow therefrom. Henceforth these despairing emigrants must no longer be dependent upon the insecure favours of the philanthropic. The Congress may regard it as one of its objects to

initiate such economic institutions by which our Zionists will be able to secure for each other assistance in the day of their need. . . .

"Troublesome is our path and filled with pain. Yes; but our courage and our loyalty will be put to the test. Let the snappers-up of temporary success desert our flag, and then when they find success has still to be looked for we shall at least, amid the material distress of our people, have gained a moral victory. We shall have shown that Judaism is still capable of producing an ideal which braves danger, endures privation, has an immense patience, and with these we will attain our great aims."

Nordau took as his theme Polna and Roumania. In gripping terms he said:

"Even the horrible blood-legend again gains credence among the great common populace and excites their prejudices to a degree which embodies danger to life and property of the Jews. The cases of Tisza Eszlar and Xanten were admonitions which have been forgotten. Polna and Konitz are deep toned warnings to which the Jewish race dare not turn a deaf ear. In Bohemia a Jew was actually sentenced for a so-called ritual murder, the same as 400 years ago, and when Jews are met in Czecho districts the motion of throat cutting is a common gesture towards them.

"In Roumania a calamity has taken place which has not been witnessed for the past 400 years. Indeed we have to hark back to the year 1492 to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, to find anything like it. . . . Europe is again witness of acts the equal of which has not taken place since 1730, when thirty thousand Protestants of Salzburg were driven from their hearth and homes. Again we see on all the high-ways of the world streams of unhappy human beings wandering; behind them death, before them the unknown. White haired men falling by the way-side, mothers faint and exhausted who can only give the dried-up breast to their babies. . . . The expulsions of the Protestants from Salzburg was a harmless idyll by the side of the wanderings of the Jews from Roumania. . . . The Roumanian exiles have no plans. They wander aimlessly. The same as a flight of Northern lem-



IV
ZIONIST CONGRESS

AUGUST 13-16 $\frac{5660}{1900}$

LONDON

SOUVENIR POSTCARD DESIGNED FOR THE FOURTH ZIONIST
CONGRESS BY I. SNOWMAN.

mings, with the birds of prey above, and the birds of prey around them picking out their victims from the flight.

"We are rushing with Niagara-like rapidity towards the vortex of bankruptcy into which official Judaism will fall. Their blind fanatical enmity towards the Zionist movement has brought about the present position. Why have we become Zionists? Because of a mystic desire for Zion? Most of us know ourselves to be free from this idea. We have become Zionists because the distress of the Jewish race has appealed to our hearts, because we see with sorrow a steadily increasing misery which will lead to sudden and calamitous catastrophes, and because our earnest and painful investigations show us but one way out of the labyrinth of affliction, and that is the acquisition of a legally assured and guaranteed home for the persecuted Jewish millions.

"There is no doubt that there are some, who more readily spend 20,000 francs on a pleasure trip of an anti-Semitic choral society than devote one-fifth of that sum to benefit the poor Roumanian wanderers. There are even some who would rather spend 600,000 francs in buying old Gobelins for their drawing rooms than help with the one-hundredth part of that sum the Roumanian wayfarer."

But the opposition did not yield. Zionism was still "ill considered, retrogressive and even dangerous" though "as an emotional force it could not be ignored." The publicity the congress achieved was most annoying to the anti-Zionists,¹ who so misunderstood their fellow Jews who were Zionists that they believed the Zionists regretted the public ventilation of the Jewish Question—a perfect example of judgment without an intelligent understanding of the basic position of the Zionists.

The Berlin paper² thought the increasing number of Russian Jews as delegates indicated the hopelessness of the movement, whilst the *American Israelite*³ noted that

¹See footnote page 160.

²*Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1900, p. 401.

³August 30, 1900.

"one of the unpleasant features of the meeting was Dr. Nordau's onslaught on the American Jews." It added, "Whilst the Zionists are doing their talking . . . the Jewish population in Palestine is decreasing." It moreover approvingly quoted Claude G. Montefiore, "In all tastes, feelings, ideas—apart from religion—I have far more in common with a Christian Englishman than with a Bulgarian Jew." Small comfort this for Herzl's hope that the I. C. A. director was moving towards his cause. In London those who disliked Zionism adopted an old English method of attack—they wrote letters to the *Times*.

VI.

The agony of suspense always affected Herzl. "Waiting is a bad thing for the nerves," he wrote. He did not recover entirely from his illness in London and from September, 1900 to May, 1901, he had to live through repeated experiences of "great expectations" that were not realized. The organization was short of funds, and until the appointment of David Levontin as General Manager of the Jewish Colonial Trust he was in doubt as to the functioning of that institution.

Again he devoted much attention to a new newspaper project. Through Minister President von Koerber he came into contact with Count Auersperg, who in turn introduced him to a group of industrialists who wanted either to purchase the *Neue Freie Presse* or to found a new daily newspaper. Herzl attached great importance to these lengthy negotiations which eventually came to nothing, and which on sober reflection he realized could not have served his purpose. But they did cost him many sleepless nights and a good deal of anguish.

In this transaction, there was a good deal of that unconscious comedy which throws some light on the bewildering condition of Austria, in which, during four years, there had been no regular meeting of Parliament. In order to establish an impartial organ which would defend their position and urge their views for new and much needed national enterprise and development, wealthy Protestant industrialists negotiated through a Catholic aristocrat with a Jewish idealist who was dreaming of an untrammelled vantage ground from which he could evolve all the phases of his Jewish policy. And the comedy was not diminished by the fact that the industrialists commenced the negotiation because they believed that they were suffering from the opposition of a Jewish owned newspaper acting in combination with Jews great in the world of high finance.

Had he succeeded in this plan he would have been still more of "a slave to his desk," and perhaps more limited in the expression of his opinions. But this possibility he did not foresee. His eagerness for release from the *Neue Freie Presse* was so keen he even contemplated settling in London, a transfer to which his family would never have consented.

One of his "great expectations" at this period was guided by Leopold J. Greenberg and Joseph Cowen in the attempt to bring him together with Lord Rothschild. Isaac N. Seligman, the London banker, one of the few leaders of "haute finance" who had any liking for Zionism, gave some aid and Lady Battersea helped during Herzl's visit to London in February 1901. But his lordship declined the engagement, and so did the Paris members of the family. Herzl never sought direct financial aid from the Jewish millionaires. He believed then, and

afterwards, that he could convert the Turkish Public Debt to the advantage of high finance, with the character for Palestine as part of the contract. They were not expected to *give* anything; Herzl never looked at the problem of either acquiring political rights or of settling Jews in Palestine from that angle.

His third great expectation was the audience with the Sultan. He negotiated intermittently through the winter of 1900-01 to achieve this. He felt "the north wind was blowing through the fir trees"—a dark dismal period. There was a lull in anti-Semitism in Austria. Lueger was losing ground, but the Jews were so scathingly attacked in the French Chamber of Deputies that Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn felt it necessary to address himself to M. Paul Deschanal, the president of the Chamber. M. Carp, the Prime Minister of Roumania, publicly stated that his was the only vote that favored equality for the Jews, in that country.

The Zionist organization, too, was showing signs of a relapse. The pace the leader had set was too fast for the local administrators. But all the while Herzl was putting new irons in the fire. In Levontin at the head of the Jewish Colonial Trust he had found a man to his liking. Economic plans for Palestinean development began to flow from his pen—the purchase of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad, a cement factory, a Palestine shipping company, a credit bank for Russia, a project for insuring the settlement rights of all expelled Jews by a national loan. And he did more than improvise new ideas. He grappled with many of the details, worked them out with his rapidly moving pen and demanded "instantly" all sorts of information. He had a state builder's mind, impersonal and unselfish; a Cecil Rhodes grasp

without millions, and with no more than moral authority.

It was during this period that Herzl, Wolffsohn, and the author were one day seated in the Hotel Cecil, London. Observing Wolffsohn whispering Herzl demanded what we were conspiring about. "Nothing but this," answered Wolffsohn, "I said to de Haas that I wish we were already so far ahead that we were in Jerusalem and some Jew, angry with your governmental policy, was shooting at you." Without hesitation Herzl rejoined, "An excellent and proper wish."

One afternoon during this visit Herzl suddenly asked the writer to obtain from Cook's an itinerary and estimate for a six months' tour in the United States. When the data was delivered Herzl abruptly proposed that the author make a propaganda tour in America. Within the month he returned to the subject, but the matter was for other reasons postponed for a year.

The words "nothing doing" used in Herzl's diary merely mean no new idea at the moment. In truth there was too much to do, for a double crisis had arisen in the Zionist world. On December 27, 1900, the *Politische Correspondenz*, a Viennese paper regarded as having semi official standing, struck a "blow on the head" at the public political phase of the movement. It issued a statement to the effect that the Turkish government had limited the stay of Jews going to Palestine, either as pilgrims, or merchants, to three months.

"This is but part of a series of measures intended to prevent foreign Jews from settling in Palestine. . . . The Porte, usually tolerant in such things, was induced to take these measures after the expulsion of Jews from Russia and Roumania, which threatened to flood Turkey with poor Jews. Perhaps the precaution would have been forgotten if the Zionist Movement had not created a fresh alarm. Influential Turks had

intimated to the Government that Zionism is a political movement, based upon the old Kingdom of Judah, and should not be lightly encouraged. The result is that the Zionist movement is regarded with suspicion, and until its aims are clear no Jews will be allowed to settle in Palestine."

Herzl immediately wrote the author, "I know not how this report was smuggled into the *Politische Correspondenz* but it ceases to worry me because within the last few days I received a report from the best informed source, that the sentiment in Constantinople is exactly the opposite to that alleged by the *Correspondenz*."

The London *Times* Vienna correspondent commented, "The colonization of Palestine by Jews, the majority of whom speak German, is represented to be favorably contemplated by Germany as being favorable to her policy in Asia Minor. It is well known that Russia watches the development of that policy jealously."

The London *Jewish Chronicle*, though opposed to the movement, claimed to know, notwithstanding the fact that it was afterward proved to be in error, that the Turkish government was just then permitting Jews to buy "Miri" (Agricultural) lands, government property, and that a special irade was issued to that effect. Therefore it did not take the attack seriously. "The prominence given the matter in the English press loses some of its significance when it is recollected that all the telegrams on the subject have been based upon a single article in the *Politische Correspondenz* from the pen of a writer, whose motive like his name, is unknown to us." But continental journals once again wrote the epitaph of Zionism.

Arminius Vambery, recently returned from Constantinople, assured Herzl that the Sultan had spoken

to him in quite different terms. "All else is rubbish to him. He wants only gold and power." But such desires could not be explained publicly, and would not have been readily believed. A popular movement pledged to open action has its difficulties when it engages in secret diplomacy. Herzl met the situation with grim silence.

But the anti-Zionists were not slow to pursue their advantage. Youssof Bey Krieger of Rhodes, one time Secretary to the Government of Palestine, in an interview said, "Since the Zionist Congresses were instituted we have lost still more, and justly so, in the estimation of the Government. These ideas are chimerical and without advantage." Concerning this Youssof Bey, Herzl wrote, "He is not known in Constantinople." It was sufficient.

Nissim Behar of the Alliance Israelite Universelle School in Jerusalem, being in London at the time, joined the chorus of depressors with the obvious, "The Zionists imagine that they can get anything and everything for money, but anyone who is acquainted with the state of affairs in Palestine knows that all the wealth of the Jews throughout the world would not suffice to obtain possession of the Holy Places."

But worse was afoot. Baron Edmond de Rothschild had a year before transferred his interests in the Palestinean colonies to the Jewish Colonization Association, which thereupon allowed it to become known that it intended purchasing large tracts of land for new settlement in the Hauran, which Herzl offered to facilitate. But instead of new development "hundreds of families are compelled to leave the land they learned to love so well. . . . The Hebrew papers are full of details of ever new severe measures promulgated by the new benefac-

tors.”¹¹ The *Univers Israel* reported that due to the action of the newly appointed I. C. A. administration the majority of the workmen engaged at Rishon le Zion had gone on a three days strike.

The Russian “Lovers of Zion,” slowly disintegrating, were suddenly roused to fury. A conference was called in Odessa where it was decided to send a delegation to Paris to bring pressure to bear on Baron Edmond and the I. C. A. administration. Ussischkin, one of the leaders of this movement, in demanding reorganization of the colonization effort stated that too much money had been spent by Baron Edmond in Palestine, and that the people were being pauperized.

Nordau attacked the I. C. A. at a Paris meeting, urging, “Do not let us waste time on men who do not pay the slightest heed to the voice of Jewish public opinion.” He, however, insisted that the Zionists had no responsibility in the matter and could assume none. He taunted the “practical” Zionists who still stood outside of the Zionist organization to meet the situation and rescue the colonists. In his private capacity Nordau actually collected a small sum for the colonists but he opposed all Zionist official action in the matter. In this he voiced accurately the attitude of all political Zionists. Herzl and a group of political Zionists objected to a nation going begging on their knees to the I. C. A. administrators. But this aloofness did not please the “Lovers of Zion.” Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn, one of the Council of the I. C. A., explained publicly that the new administrators had decided that there was “no longer any work” for day laborers in Palestine and thereupon, the Rabbi resigned from the Board. The English Zionists

¹¹Letter of I. Raffalovich.

joined in the protest against this policy. Mr. Herbert Bentwich voiced English opinion in his protest "against the wicked policy which had been taken up against the already established colonies in Palestine by the Jewish Colonization Association. These people desired to nip in the bud the emigration of persecuted Jews from Roumania for fear of the consequences to those already settled in England and in America. Yet they found time and money to organize the departure of the best elements of Palestine colonization, because they were so intolerant that they were unwilling to foster a national movement."

Here was the beginning of the first publicly organized attack on a Jewish organization and the subsequent leadership of that attack was Zangwill's great role in Zionism. The Russian delegation proceeded slowly to Paris and entered into conference with the I. C. A.

But in the meantime the prevailing gloom was deepened by the publication of what was claimed to be the proposed regulations concerning the admission of Jews into Palestine (elaborated by the Council of State) all due to the antipathy of the Turkish government to "the leaders of this chimerical [Zionist] project, men who appear to be lacking in common sense and conscience." Once again at a critical moment Milwaukee (Wis.) provided the humor by a cable announcing that the Jews of America were buying out the Sultan's interest in Palestine in order to found "a socialistic Republic for Orthodox Jews."

Setting aside Abdul Hamid's personality—the leading factor in the situation—the course of European politics from the Crimean war onward was such as to force the Turks into hostility against all the Christian powers. If they had therefore any desire for stability, political and

financial, they had only one group to turn to, the Jews, and of these Herzl had created some kind of a political organism. Enlightened Turks were probably not prepared to discuss the creation of an independent province or of a Jewish principality in Palestine but they were keenly alive to the fact that newcomers needed protection from the typical Turkish administrative abuses. Hence Oliphant's repeated statement, that Khairaddin Pascha as Grand Vizier was keenly alive to "the advantages to Turkey of a Jewish Alliance," a phrase Jews would have regarded as presumptuous, was not without point. Political ideas progress and disappear slowly. Even this "Alliance" did not die with Khairaddin Pascha.

Events have long since settled this political issue and justified Herzl's aspiration. The author's task is limited to an interpretation of the facts as they existed when the political Zionist leader was struggling to create a favorable "combination." Strange as it may appear to those who recall the oft used "impossible" and "impracticable" with which anti-Zionists challenged Zionists, the facts were all in Herzl's favor. The conditions had been ripe since 1856 but no Jew had taken advantage of them, or studied them with sufficient care to seize the opportunity. Herzl grasped the situation intuitively. There was no Turkish imponderability; no difficulty due to any fundamental policy of the great powers. Politically his was a thought ripe for action if he could influence one man—Abdul Hamid II.

Herzl found during this period only one public source of satisfaction. His slogan "conquer the communities" had been taken seriously in Vienna, and his candidates almost won. So strong a minority vote was not mistaken either by the leaders of the Allianz or the official com-

munity. They begged for terms. Herzl had accused the Allianz of being under bad management, and in abetting the enforced repatriation of the Roumanian exiles. When the quarrel was arbitrated, though only the cash book of the Allianz was produced, Herzl leisurely paging it through found sufficient evidence to prove his case that men had been subsidized whose policies were Machiavelian. Zionists were thereafter appointed on the various administrations—a trifling victory, but of some importance locally where the Polna ritual murder case, and Lueger's anti-Semitism were creating live issues for Zionist and anti-Zionist discussion. The enforced repatriation of the Roumanians everywhere created much bitterness in Zionist circles, but the issue was lost sight of in the new and more obvious struggle between the I. C. A. and the Palestinean settlements. The administrators of the Jewish Colonization Association made no serious attempt to defend their course of action in Palestine. In taking over the Rothschild colonies they decided upon many changes in men and methods which were unpopular in Palestine. The most serious charge against them was that they decreased employment, thereby practically compelling some colonists to leave Palestine.

Herzl wrote for *Die Welt* the feuilleton, "Daumerle und Baumerle," a message of hope deferred, encouragement, doubt and belief in the future. Thirty years ago, runs this quaint parable, Daumerle and Baumerle walked "where now are villas like castles in green gardens and where then was nothing but fields yielding the seasonal crops." Baumerle had the ability to foresee the future. One day he induced his friend to take a long ride out of the city until they came to the open country. Here he predicts one day will arise a beautiful suburb. "Here

will be beautiful houses with fine gardens"—a town of happy people. He names it 'Future' and because he believes in his foresight he induces his friend to join him in investing their small savings in the purchase of these acres. Baumerle settles on the property. But the development is slow for their resources. Daumerle sells out but Baumerle remains poor and wretched yielding little by little of his purchase as the years go by. Another decade passes. The city reaches out to Baumerle's cottage. Daumerle visits him and is bewildered by the change. He asks his friend to locate the land they once purchased. "Tell me where is Future now?" The master of the hut took him to a window that looked away from the streets and towards the horizon where there was nothing but fields. Baumerle stretched out his arm—"There'."

CHAPTER XII.

"THE SHADOW OF GOD ON EARTH."

Abdul Hamid II—The road to Stamboul—Armenius Vambery and Herzl—Audience of the Sultan—Turkish public debt—Favorites, secretaries and diplomatic chess.

"**I** FEEL an excitement which I thought was dead," wrote the romantic Disraeli, of his first approach to Constantinople, in 1830,¹ stirred in anticipation of enjoying the glamour of the Orient. Herzl shared his love of the blue of the Bosphorus, "The view which made so many dreary hours liveable;" but Constantinople, the goal of all his political missions, was always an irritant. He could think and write pleasantly of the Golden Horn, the rose tinted city, the tapestry effect of the many hued processions in the streets, and of the country-side rich in verdure. But Constantinople meant endless chicanery, detestable Levantines, a crew of cut-throats and black-mailers, disingenuous diplomats attached to an enigmatic, wretched, squalid, bespattered, rose painted Yildiz, its gravel paths strewn with beggars of every type, mercenaries all, leading to a monarch who was a caricature of sovereignty; a weak despot whom half the world execrated as an "assassin," and the other half believed had no other interest than the sort provided by his Harem.

To Christendom Abdul Hamid was "the damned," a bloodthirsty despot who slew his thousands; to the

¹Monypenny, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, Vol. I.

Mussulmans, "the shadow of God on Earth" imprisoned by his Greek, Armenian, and other non-Islamic entourage.

Abdul Hamid II knew only one language, the simpler form of Turkish; his general education was limited, and as in his youth he was advanced by intrigue, he ruled in perpetual fear of plots. "He saw everywhere enemies, he suspected everywhere treason. Neither day nor night did he enjoy a moment of rest and security. . . . He started with fright at the slightest noise, and at any sudden movement of a visitor." This picture was drawn by one of the few Europeans who could speak the Sultan's tongue and who knew him intimately.¹ "A small man, of rather spare frame, sallow complexion, dark eyes that sparkled with a furtive expression, prominent aquiline nose, and short full black beard, which later, when it turned gray, he dyed reddish with henna."² His clothes were padded about the neck and shoulders so as to conceal the slight hump with which Allah had afflicted him. But he was neither vain nor particularly uxorious. Instead he was vindictive to the uttermost, more concerned about his personal safety than about his empire and withal the most powerful, shrewd, and able Sultan that ruled Turkey for many decades.

This coward, who unquestionably instigated the Armenian massacres because his horde of spies—among whom were not a few Armenians—filled his receptive mind with tales of plots, managed to maintain during forty years almost single handed, his grip on the Orient against the mutually contending but always aggressive

¹Personal Recollections of Abdul Hamid and his Court, by Arminius Vambery, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1909.

²Oscar S. Straus, *Under Four Administrations*, 1922.

Powers, and he outlived that Czar who first called him “the sick man of Europe.” His personal knowledge of Europe was limited to the experiences of his youth, when with his brother he went on a tour to France. He despised the Christian world, lacked faith in the administrative capacity of his fellow Turks, but restored the historical significance of the Caliphate, with its implied headship of Islam. His immediate predecessors who were seeking a measure of Western assimilation were anxious to be known as Emperors rather than as Sultans. Abdul Hamid II, as clever as he was reactionary, preferred to be “Caliph.” It was far easier for him to be a religious ruler, than an efficient one.

Fearful to the point of having killed a pet child because he thought it was about to shoot him, he had vision enough to create the pan-Islamic movement. So Yildiz Kiosk, within a quarter of a century, became the head office of a great organization which aimed at embracing the whole Mussulman world. He was a royal leech sucking money from his people, and forever whimpering to Europe for loans to finance his administration. He was self-willed, autocratic, capricious. Most of the state papers issued by his Council of Ministers were so much fustian manufactured to conform with the habits of the foreigners. Abdul Hamid II ruled with the aid of his personal secretaries, of whom, when Herzl came to Constantinople, Izzet Bey was the favorite. And at the suggestion of Izzet and his predecessors there went forth many “Irades,” as solemnly binding as any formal state paper. Of these imperial rescripts the acknowledged ministers often knew nothing until they were proclaimed, or, more often, silently put into operation. Abdul Hamid II was the last absolute autocrat

in the world, and he ruled as despots have always ruled—with an iron hand.

He barely knew even Pera, that charming Westernised suburb of Constantinople. When he came to the throne he immured himself in Yildiz Kiosk. It was neither a castle nor a palace, but a small town of many buildings all dissimilar in form, architecture, and purpose surrounding one side of an artificial lake in which the Sultan took his pleasures.

The buildings formed a huge labyrinth of lobbies, halls and chambers, with “mysterious passages, secret closets, traps, oubliettes, rooms without apparent entrances. . . . In this unspeakable Yildiz there lived for thirty-three years, fed, lodged, and fattened at the expense of the Sultan five thousand persons, palace dignitaries, secretaries, chamberlains, servants, women of the Harem, eunuchs, cooks, gardeners, astrologers, dervishes, hodjas, grooms, coachmen, wrestlers, prestidigitators, jesters, slaves, artizans, sbirri of every kind, good-for-nothings of all sorts, familiars of ‘the cord and of the sack.’”¹ And to this catalogue must be added several regiments of soldiers, of different nationalities and tongues, so that they could not unite against their lord and master.

Because that Sultan was master of Palestine, and lived in that Yildiz, Herzl sought entrance there. Perhaps one may apply to him what a reviewer once said of Disraeli: “Until the characteristics of the Jewish race are understood it is impossible even to begin to comprehend” this type. And Herzl began his attack on the entrenchment of Yildiz at a great disadvantage. He was in a hurry, and Abdul loved what the Marquis of Lands-

¹C. Chryssaphides and Rene Lara in *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 84, 1910.



OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF THE MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOR OF
THE ZIONIST CONGRESS.

downe, British Foreign Secretary, mildly described as "obstructive tactics." The Sultan kept ministers waiting days, weeks, and even months for the audience which custom and usage established as their right. He took fiendish delight in having them informed in the middle of the night that an audience set for the next day was adjourned sine die.

Under these conditions can the Turkish people be credited with having had any serious policy towards Palestine? Can even the Sultanate be credited with any policy? It is true that the purchase of the land for Zichron Jacob (Zimmerin) on December 10, 1882, was met in the following spring by a checking of Jewish emigration, but this, like all subsequent restrictions, was believed to express fear of Russian encroachment rather than objection to Jewish settlement, and not unmixed with an interest in graft.

Herzl's real forerunner in Palestinian settlement was Laurence Oliphant,¹ the London journalist, turned social experimenter and mystic, but who evolved a Palestinian programme, in serious practical fashion. He planned to settle there twenty-five to fifty thousand families and he obtained the support of the then Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield, and Lord Salisbury, without however committing the English government. Oliphant wrote (1879-80): "I have not encountered a particle of opposition. . . . Quite to the contrary. Every Turk from the Sultan downwards approves most highly, but 'vis inertia' is so great and their habits so dilatory that it requires the greatest patience."

He too sought "guarantees necessary for the protection of the colonies from the existing abuses of Ottoman

¹*Haifa, Life in Modern Palestine*, London, 1887.

misrule." That demand brought him to Constantinople where he spent several months. Intrigue finally baffled him, but he heard no word apparently of the political mythology, that Palestine was so holy in Moslem eyes that a practical policy could not be applied to it. Even Conder, who spent twenty-eight years in Palestine, and who drafted a simple plan for the acquisition of Palestine by the Jews—the farming of the taxes of the Vilayet of Beyrout by a Jewish syndicate—thought the Moslem interest was limited to Jerusalem and that even its "holiness" was considerably qualified in the eyes of the followers of Islam.

Oliphant, however, originally approached the question of Palestine re-settlement without any particular enthusiasm for the Jews and therefore he may be well regarded as the best witness for the whole political structure which Herzl sought to set up. He was interested in the rejuvenescence of the Orient and having visited Turkey in 1855, 1860 and 1862 he was familiar with the Turkish objection to foreigners and particularly to Christians. He therefore fell back on the Jews, the "only one race in Europe who were rich and who did not therefore need to appeal to Christian capitalists for money." Oliphant began his plan of campaign by securing the support of the British and French governments and proceeded to Constantinople where a "charter" was drafted and "submitted to the Turkish Government after it had been at their request carefully framed and elaborated by their own law advisers in such a manner as should in my opinion offer the most effectual guarantees . . . without in any way infringing upon the sovereign rights of the Sultan."¹

¹*The Land of Gilead*, by Laurence Oliphant, 1880.

It is true that the English journalist, unlike his Jewish successor, did not project a Jewish State, but his plans were not so different nor his views so far apart from Herzl's that the latter could not but regard Oliphant's experiences as indicating that his own plans were within the bounds of the practical. Perhaps Herzl was inclined to think that he could overcome what conquered Oliphant, "the amount of intrigue I am now encountering at the palace seems likely to beat me; it all seems to hang on an interview with the Sultan."¹ But nowhere is there an indication that any fundamental or peculiar political or religious obstacle existed to the idea. Let us add that Oliphant was the first to realize that the problem from the Turkish viewpoint was that the settlers should accept Ottoman Citizenship. Herzl was thus not unjustified in assuming from the outset that the problem he had to face in Constantinople was a question of acquisitiveness and not that of changing some deep-rooted political conviction on the part of the Turks—Sultan or people.

After 1882, or more correctly from the fall of Khairreddon Pascha, the one enlightened and responsible Grand Vizier, in a long series of puppet chiefs, Turkey became anti-foreign in its policy at all points. But it was at all times fair to assume that the Rothschilds and others in purchasing land for Jewish settlement between 1882 and 1897, were not regarded by the Turkish Government as Jews but as Frenchmen, and that the opposition to issuing title deeds to their land purchases resulted first from the interest of corrupt officials, and second, from the definite policy of all Jewish organizations to imitate the capitulations system and thus create not Jewish settlements, but French, Russian and German

¹*Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant*, 1891, Vol. II, P. 186.

settlements in Palestine. Moreover, Baron de Hirsch as a builder of Turkish railroads had personal difficulties with the Sublime Porte and with Yildiz.

Herzl was thus the first Jew to approach Turkey as a Jew, and if he desired all manner of supporting guarantees from the great Powers, nevertheless was not subconsciously seeking to bring with each new settler another individual addition to the existing international complications. As we have seen, when Herzl was in Palestine the majority of the Jews settled there were "foreigners." His policy would have made them Turkish subjects but with full control of their own affairs in Palestine. It seemed to him that the problem of the sanctity of the Moslem El Khuds (Jerusalem) could be easily solved because it was also the Christian Jerusalem—and exterritorialisation of the old Holy City would meet all religious objections. He regarded these sanctities as exaggerated because there were Turks, perhaps in quest of lucrative 'commissions,' who discussed the problem of Jewish settlement without even remotely considering the Moslem religious interest in Palestine. As a "real politiker," to use the German phrase, Herzl ignored many political myths which were current in his period. When political myths die no one gives them decent burial. Perhaps that is why, for an hour or so, every now and then their wraiths make creaky noises.

Such experience as he gained during his 1896 visit to Constantinople did not suggest that any of the oft quoted imponderables were the real obstacles to his policy. Rather he feared the pressure of the Catholic Church, on the one hand and of Russian territorial aggrandisement on the other. Among the real Turks with whom he came into contact the discussion always took

the form that permitted negotiable possibilities. In March, 1897, there came to London Youssuf Pascha, Deputy of Jerusalem, with excellent credentials. Ostensibly the purpose of his visit was to arouse interest in a project for cutting a canal between Haifa and Tiberias, or for canalising the ancient Arabah. He harped a good deal on the fulfilment of an ancient prophecy concerning the fisherman of Engeddi. He had authorisations from Stamboul, and the author met him at the Turkish Embassy and other places. A letter of his contains these sentences: "Please to write from time to time on some good occasions, long articles in favor of the Ottoman Sultan and people of Turkey. Specially the people of our dearest land, Palestine, to defend their rights and interests. . . . And send me all the articles to Constantinople."

Youssuf's Constantinople address was "care of the Dragoman of the British Embassy" and yet he avowed that the real purpose of his visit to England was to discuss a formal alliance between the Zionists and the Young Turk party, looking to the deposition of the Sultan and the ceding of Palestine to the Jews. He spoke long, earnestly, and often of a Pan-Semitic alliance, in which the Jews should contribute some money, but mostly industrial and commercial elements. And he was not the only advocate of this political alliance. A Pan-Semitic alliance was beyond both the imagination and ambition of the Zionists. Youssuf pressed Herzl to consider this alliance, which as we have seen had been thought of by others in 1880, and offered the author as an inducement an open door from Stamboul to Jerusalem.

Among the almost forgotten items of European understanding of Turkey was the fear that the Sultan

Caliph would one day raise the green flag and proclaim a "Holy War," though no Mahdi ever succeeded in rousing more than a few wild tribes. Every ambassador who was sufficiently impertinent and importunate, generally, after much procrastination on the part of the Turks won his point, which was "interfering in the internal affairs of the Turkish Empire," on some moral basis or the other.

Herzl ignored all these "old wives tales," which filled learned books and serious magazines, just as when considering the Christian attitude towards Palestine he ignored the wide-spread belief that the spirit of the Crusades would be revived if the Jews set firm foot on Zion. And there was at least a cobweb of truth to this vaporous myth. Half the monarchs of Europe were titular "Kings of Jerusalem," and the aspirations of France "as daughter of the Church," gave some substance to the imponderable politics of the Vatican.

In international political discussion alchemy and astrology have survived and remain superior to chemistry and astronomy. Such is still the mental state, not of the ignorant, but of some of the "best minds" of 1927 when they discuss Palestine. Noting this one is almost amazed at Herzl's hardihood and cold clear perspicacity in 1901.

But then Herzl was no philosopher and held no academic attitude towards his problem. He knew the road to Palestine was through the Sultan's goodwill, and Turkey in its tolerance and free acceptance of Jews had remained four hundred years ahead of most of the world. This at least lent the quality of probability to Herzl's enterprise. But it was not given him to think in somewhat abstract Jewish terms of the relations of the mas-

ter of Palestine to the Jewish problem. Herzl was Viennese, that is he readily accepted the mixture of melodrama and comic opera which was served up everywhere and labelled Yildiz Kiosk. And this picture was if anything enhanced by Vambéry's recitals of how he could have slept at Yildiz but feared being murdered in his bed and how he could have dined there but feared the food would be poisoned. Herzl's contempt was not weakened by these stories, and they definitely increased his physical fear of what might be the concomitants of an audience with "Abdul the Damned."

Like all despots, Abdul Hamid was practically unapproachable. Few ambassadors saw him other than formally and only at a distance, at the weekly Selamlık procession. None spoke his language, Turkish. The great powers by their own methods contributed much to the opera bouffe of Yildiz; the official starvelings who made it their begging haunt completed the picture.

Herzl's synonym for the possession of Palestine was "bakshish," a feeing system which, owing to the lack of regular salaries, was not regarded as odious. So he readily employed Newlinski, and when the Pole died, formed a connection with N—— Bey, a former Secretary in the Turkish Foreign Office who had his own corps d'élite of beguiling promisers and avowed blackmailers. These gentry, being Turks and Levantines, were frank, crude dealers in graft. They lacked the subtlety and artistry of their western colleagues who follow the same profession.

Herzl, abhorring personal contact with this crew, was ruthless in the candor with which he relates, in his diaries, his transactions with these men whose bluffs he never half believed, whose genius for evil he held in

wholesome respect, but of whose services he had to avail himself. To reach the Sultan he followed many trails. First Newlinski, then the German Emperor, then the Czar—here he made no progress at all—then again N—and others attached to the diplomatic “half world.” And finally, through the accident of reading a newspaper paragraph, he pressed Arminius Vambery, author, traveller and, for public consumption, professor of languages in a Hungarian University, into the service of Zionism.

And though once he sighted the trail of Vambery he pursued it relentlessly until it brought him victory, he followed with the same eagerness the paper chase that N—and his satellites provided in the form of letters, telegrams, and cryptic messages, pursuit along two involved routes to the same end—the audience with the Sultan. The latter, Herzl read, had sent for Vambery. At once he sent his aides in pursuit of Vambery, for the Consolidation of the Turkish Public Debt was again to the fore. Eventually they met in Muhlbach, in June, 1900.

“An extremely interesting man, a lame seventy year old Hungarian Jew, who knows not whether he is more Turk than Englishman, a German essayist who commands twelve languages perfectly, and having professed five religions, in two of which he served as priest, is, through his intimacies with religion, naturally an atheist. He told me a thousand and one Oriental stories illustrating his intimacy with the Sultan. He immediately showed complete confidence in me, and gave me his word of honor that he was both English and Turkish secret agent. He began ‘I want no money, I am a rich man, I can’t eat golden beefsteaks. I have a quarter of a million. I can’t use even half the interest. If I help you it is only for the sake of the cause.’ ”

"Vambery was garrulous, melo-dramatic, vain, and intimate," accepting the pet name of "uncle." Thereafter they wrote each other in informal jesting form, a mixture of Hungarian terms of endearment, high German, English phrases, German-Jewish or Yiddish terms of ridicule, and code words for Sultan and Yildiz. At their first interview Vambery embraced Herzl, accepting the cause for the sake of the man. But disliking the summer heat in Constantinople he would not agree to proceed there immediately with Herzl, and he had no faith in writing to the Sultan. But Herzl was determined, and even to his jests added a higher note. "I realize what you seek to accomplish by your autobiography, a royal tomb. Crown your pyramid with the capstone: How I aided to prepare the homecoming of my people the Jews."

Next he pressed him, "I really regard you as a man of action, a man of my race. . . . Disraeli once said to a young Jew, 'You and I belong to a race which can do everything but fail.' My dear Uncle Vambery we can really do everything. But we must be willing." That September they met again, this time in Pesth.

"Vambery again told me much about himself, repeating stories he told me in Muhlbach. He gave me his word of honor that I should be received by the Sultan in May. I do not wholly understand how he can give me his word of honor in a matter that does not depend upon himself. But I must be satisfied. . . . I am very weary."

II.

But N— and C—, the knights of corruption, were also busy. They promised action in 1899, and the for-

mer received cash on account in that year. In the summer of 1900 the struggle between the Powers and China, and the mass Jewish migration from Roumania were to Herzl excellent opportunities; he urged N— to get busy. The first answer came in October. The Turkish government was in pressing need of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds Turkish and was willing to pledge the customs and pay six to six and a half percent interest. If he could enter on the scene as a broker for this loan the Sultan would receive him. This was followed by a visit by the Turkish Consul General, and a despatch from Pera going into further details as to the amount Herzl could offer "at the foot of the throne." Herzl believed action was imminent. He prepared a plan of campaign to cover the loan and wrote at the end in English, "I am ready." Kann of the Hague stood ready to finance the project.

Herzl acted with great circumspection. He invited Vambery to check up on the attitude of the Sultan, and Lissa and Kann of the Hague put in his possession a formal offer for the loan. In the meantime Herzl was busy studying the problem which he believed he must eventually face, the conversion of the Turkish Public Debt. But the secret agents' negotiations began to hang fire. They wrote splendid reports, and seemed to have inside information even as to Vambery's action. C— came to Vienna December 11, a scrawny, wax-yellow blackbearded Levantine, "but he called a spade a spade, and spoke frankly of the reigning personalities in Constantinople. . . . Had I received the invitation of the Sultan? At the audience I should not mention Zionism . . . the Turks feared the intervention of the Powers. If the Jews began to emigrate the Powers would at once

order their war ships to Jaffa and take Palestine. I said that to win the Powers was our task. He answered that if I could make the Sultan comprehend this, the battle will be won. The Sultan had only that reservation. . . . Vambéry's cooperation, he said had been of the utmost importance. . . . We could obtain the concession to the Dead Sea if we guaranteed the Sultan a share of the net profits earned by the industries that would be created." But the effort came to nothing. Apparently Turkish officialdom used Herzl's offer to extract better terms from a German Bank, or from another group seeking banking concessions from Turkey at that juncture. The strongly worded statement opposing Zionism issued and published through the *Politische Correspondenz* at the end of December was part of this diplomatic game of hide and seek.

After many weary months Vambéry's wire-pulling and the secret agents' efforts succeeded in producing the desired result. Vambéry went to Constantinople ostensibly to inform the Sultan that he had been invited to London by the King of England and perhaps the Sultan had a message for the English Monarch. Herzl tells the story of Vambéry's report:

"With a torrent of curses this remarkable seventy year old man stepped out of the train. The station hall resounded with the thunder of his voice because no porter was available. His son and I carried his baggage to my carriage. . . . We had only a few minutes available. But first of all the result. The Sultan will receive me! Not as a Zionist, but as Chief of the Jews, and as an influential journalist.

" 'When I arrived,' Vambéry related, 'he received me suspiciously. Why do you come? I answered,' continued Vambéry, 'I have been invited by the King of England.' Perhaps the Sultan had an instruction. Second I thought it worth

while to help improve public opinion; therefore he should invite a recognized and influential journalist. He let me come six times before he agreed to it. The fellow is wholly crazy and a thief. The newest thing he has done is to seize the whole European mail, but he thinks the Powers won't make war on that account. You must not talk to him about Zionism. That is a phantasmagoria. Jerusalem is as holy to him as Mecca. But Zionism is a good thing—against Christendom. I want to make the continuance of Zionism possible; that is why I arranged the audience—otherwise you would have nothing to present to your congress. You must gain time and a respite. . . . As long as I was there he would not receive you. It might result in combinations that would be awkward for him."

Herzl was an excellent reporter; witness the following from Vambery's pen, eight years later:

"When I decided to introduce Dr. Herzl . . . I had to use all kinds of pretexts to disarm the Sultan's apprehensions. He was fond of the Jews, he knew that the colonization of Palestine would serve as a counterpoise against the steadily intruding inimical Christians, and would strengthen his rule in Syria. But it nevertheless cost me days and days of persuasion and when he ultimately acceded to my wish and agreed to receive Dr. Herzl he did so on condition that I must leave Constantinople at once, which I also did. I am quite at a loss to discover the reason of his command, and I shall probably never know."¹

Depressed and worn out—"Whitsuntide it will be six years, no sixty years since I started the Zionist movement"—Herzl proceeded to Constantinople, Wolffsohn and Oscar Marmorek, a kind, earnest, but exceedingly nervous individual, joining him. The Zionist ranks too were depressed; the Russian local leaders were creating trouble, and bitterly opposing another demonstration

¹"Personal Recollections of Abdul Hamid and His Court," by Arminius Vambery, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1909.

congress in London that summer. The leader's relations with the *Neue Freie Presse* were more hazardous and unpleasant than ever. An epidemic had broken out in Constantinople, Herzl had been seriously ill during brief periods in the winter, and the seizure of the European post offices gave him a feeling that he was about to confront a crazy despot who accounted to no one for his whims even if they included the mysterious disappearance of an invited caller. . . . Nor were his fears groundless. During the very days Herzl was in Constantinople the Ambassadors were daily meeting in secret conclave trying to discover some way of obtaining redress for the seizure by the Turkish government of the letter bags of the foreign post offices. This problem, trifling as compared to the question raised by Herzl, occupied weeks and was only solved, as were most Turkish problems at that time, by Germany separating from the Council of Ambassadors, leaving the other Ambassadors powerless. On the day that Herzl was received by the Sultan the orthodox Bishop of Prevesa was arrested and sent to Yanina for having on St. George's Day recited the prayer for King George before the prayer for the Sultan. But in spite of all these occurrences, Herzl looked forward to this session with some satisfaction.

The limitations of his position had their uses. He had experienced so many rebuffs in the moneyed world that at this moment he realized, "if he wanted to sell me the whole of Palestine I would be at a great disadvantage. I want to collect the money first. For the present he will provide me with a basket, which I will fill."

It is in the mixed moods of comic opera and melodrama and the serious desire to establish a successful

personal relation with the Sultan, that Herzl entered in his diary the details of the remarkable audience which took place on Friday, May 18, 1901.

"Here I sit, after five years, in the same room of the same Hotel Royal where I stayed with Newlinski in the beginning. A changed man, I look out the windows at the unchanged Golden Horn. Beauty moves me no more. The world is no longer conception, but will." At first a formal call on Tashin Bey, "A fine man with wax white, immovable face, half closed eyes and black beard, and Vambery's supporter." Then again the days of weary waiting and meditation on what should he say to the Sultan. At length on May 18 . . .

"Friday morning at ten o'clock, after a careful toilet, frock coat, and Medjidie Order—I drove in my coupe with Wellisch to Yildiz Kiosk. . . . Troops, vigorous fellows on foot and splendid horsemen were marching to the Selamlık. Strong restrictions at the Selamlık, but as though by enchantment all gates opened to me. I was immediately escorted to Tashin Bey, with whom I found Fuad Pascha, to whom Tashin immediately introduced me." So from official to official until "I was led to the reviewing stand where five years ago I watched the procession with Newlinski. Again as though by enchantment my wish to sit in the shade was fulfilled. An adjutant came and invited me to the Ambassador's room. The diplomatic corps, who, at close range, appeared much more indifferent and stupid, were gathered there. The women too, who from the square looked pictures of elegance lost a great deal of charm on near approach. Time passed quickly watching this Osmanic opera, the Selamlık repeated every Friday. Troops march out, forming an impregnable stony wall. The court, eunuchs, princesses in closed carriages, paschas, dignitaries, sycophants, and lackeys in all their finery. Everything proceeds to the accompaniment of music. Beyond, the blue of the Bosphorus, the Muezzin calls from the Minaret, and the Padishah drives in a partly closed carriage to the Mosque . . .

"Another brief but restful half hour in which I amuse myself studying the empty despicable diplomats. . . . I am told to wait for the First Secretary. . . . Ibrahim Bey came to me and told me that the Sultan had bestowed on me the order of Medjidie, Second Class. I thanked him most courteously and said, I did not wish to have an order. . . . The least I could accept was Class I. Ibrahim raged inwardly but withdrew with profound respect, outwardly. He will tell this to the Sultan.

"All the guests withdrew. I remained alone in the room. Gazing at the islands swimming in blue. . . . Servants entered. One escorted me to the other. We went across gravel paths to another Kiosk. Here I was first escorted to Ibrahim Bey who, like the 'Grandduchess of Gerolstein,' informed me with beaming looks and tittering joy that His Majesty has awarded me the Grand Cordon of the Medjidie. A few minutes later . . . the audience chamber.

"The Master¹ stood before me, exactly as I had pictured him. Small, shabby, with his badly dyed red beard, which is probably freshly combed only once a week, for the Selamluk. The hook nose of Punch, long yellow teeth, with a large open space on the upper right. The fez, sunk deep over the probably bald forehead, the large projecting ears serving as 'pants protectors'—as I have to the amusement of friends described such fez wearers—the projecting ears preventing the fez slipping down to the pants. Weak hands in large white gloves, over large, coarse, gay colored cuffs. Bleating voice, resistance in every word, fear in every glance. And that reigns! Anyhow only visibly and nominally. He wore his grand Selamluk uniform over his military jacket, diamond studded decorations, gloves. He gave me his hand, and we seated ourselves. I sat low and comfortable in my armchair. He sat on a divan, sword between his legs. Ibrahim sat or stood. He jumped up continually, to catch His Majesty's words, and translate them to me, and vice versa, my words to him. He beamed with happiness, smiled blissfully, and repeated everything with great seriousness. When the Sultan spoke to Ibrahim I observed my lord carefully, and he retaliated when I spoke French.

"He began with 'Salam Aleck.' I also. He always reads

¹Herzl uses, in his diary, the word "Herr."

the *Neue Freie Presse*. I ask myself only how, as he knows no German. It is the newspaper through which he informs himself about the Transvaal, China, etc. I thanked him next for the decoration. Then he spoke of the friendship existing between our countries, meaning Turkey and Austria. He is pleased to learn that Emperor Franz Joseph is well and so on.

"I would not, however, allow it to remain at that. I said (through Ibrahim) that I am devoted to him because he is good to the Jews. For this the Jews everywhere are thankful. I, in particular, I bowed repeatedly, was ready to render him every possible service—naturally not minor ones—for the latter others were available—important service. Before all I would not publish anything of this discussion. He could speak confidentially to me. He thanked me, took two cigarettes out of a silver cigarette case, gave me one, and smoked the other. Ibrahim, who dared not smoke, gave him a light. . . .

"Then said the Sultan, 'I have always been, and am a friend of the Jews. I lean principally on Mussulmans and Jews. I have no such confidence in my other subjects.'

"I complained then of the injustice we experience everywhere, and he answered that he always kept his country open as a refuge for fleeing Jews.

"Then said I, 'When Prof. Vambéry informed me that your Majesty would receive me, I thought of the fine old story of Androcles and the Lion. Your Majesty is the Lion, perhaps I am Androcles, perhaps there is a thorn that needs extraction.'

"He acknowledged the compliment with a smile.

"'May I proceed frankly and freely?' He urged me to go on.

"'The thorn I believe is your Public Debt. If one could remove it, Turkey would regain that vitality which I know she possesses.'

"He sighed, and smiled, sighing. Ibrahim translated. His Majesty had concerned himself, but unsuccessfully, ever since the beginning of his glorious accession, to excise that thorn. That thorn was acquired during the reigns of his great predecessors, and it seemed impossible to extract it. If I could aid in this, it would be fine.

"'Well, then,' said I, 'I believe I can. But the first and basic condition is absolute secrecy.'



THE "LORD" OF YILDIZ.

Abdul Hamid II as he appeared at the time he received Theodor Herzl.

"The Master raised his eyes heavenward, put his hand on his breast, and murmured, 'Secret, secret!'

"I explained my reason for this. The Powers, desiring the weakness of Turkey, would use all their influence to prevent its healing. Every method would be employed to postpone this operation. He understood.

"I said, and from now on I took the lead in the conversation—that through my friends I would put through this operation on all the stock exchanges of Europe, if I had the support of His Majesty. This support, at the opportune moment, is to take the form of specific measures friendly to the Jews, and these must be proclaimed in suitable form.

"Ibrahim listened with astonishment to his Master's words, and repeated them to me with joy. His Majesty has a court jeweller, who is a Jew. He could say something friendly about the Jews to him with the understanding that he put it in the papers. He also has for his Jews a Chief Rabbi, the Haham Bashi; he could say something to him also.

"This I rejected. It occurred to me that Dr. Marcus once told me that the Haham Bashi spat at the mention of my name. 'No,' said I, 'that will not serve the purpose. It would not reach the world in the way that we could use it. . . .I will permit myself to indicate to His Majesty the moment we can publish it to meet our high purpose. I would like to bring the active sympathy of Jewry to the Turkish Empire. The announcement would have to be imposing. Words addressed to the Haham Bashi would remain in Turkey.'

"The Master nodded, understandingly, to all that I said. I continued. 'What this beautiful land needs is the industrial peacefulness of our people. The Europeans who come here enrich themselves speedily and hurry away with the spoils. Certainly the promoter should profit, well and honestly, but he should remain where his wealth is created.'

"Again the Master nodded with satisfaction, and spoke to Ibrahim, who repeated with gleams of pleasure.

"In our land there is still much undeveloped treasure. Only today His Majesty received a telegram from Bagdad that petroleum richer than the oil of the Caucasus was discovered there.' If I remain here long enough the Sultan will invite me to inspect the districts of the Anatolian railroad. Right and left of the tracks the land is a garden. There are ores, gold and silver mines. During the reigns of his revered

predecessors the gold was mined in bars and coined, and the soldiers paid with it.

"I indeed noticed that while the Master was saying this he used both hands to indicate the quantity of gold.

"Then happened the unexpected. The Master begged me, through Ibrahim, to recommend to him a capable financier, one who would create new resources for his country, to wit, new taxes that would not be oppressive like the match tax.

"I felt myself highly complimented by this confidence, but said this would involve me in a great responsibility, as I knew only one man whom I could recommend, and of whose honesty I was as sure as of his capacity. I would, however, consider the matter, and would let His Majesty know as soon as I had found him. I thought that this man could silently study the whole financial situation and inform me of his conclusion, and on that basis I would work out a program.

"But the Master had another view. He said loudly to Ibrahim, who translated with his respectful smile, 'His Majesty thinks it would be more correct if this man occupied an official position, as that would be less noticeable. He will appoint an assistant to the finance minister—publicly under-Secretary—and give me regular reports. The Master could then correspond with me regularly.'

"I recognized the formal correctness of this idea, and then asked in which way I could forward my letters; did I need a special stamp or seal? The Master responded through Ibrahim, that my own seal would do. Letters with my seal would be given directly to His Majesty by Tashin Bey.

"Thereupon he began to discuss the ever present project, the unification of the debt. I asked what form had it taken. The Master explained it to the excited Ibrahim for me. The unification was a plan for creating a new debt to liquidate the old one. The profits would be about one and a half million Turkish pounds which would cover the previous years' deficits.

"'What? So little?' I exclaimed, shrugging my shoulders regretfully, and the Master too regretted, and sighed, with a sorrowful smile.

"Then I suggested that the unification project should be outlined to me in detail, so that I could judge whether action might be begun looking to larger projects. Perhaps the unification was good, perhaps bad. Before all I needed to know the whole plan. His Majesty declared that my wishes would be

carried out. He would appoint some one to give me all the details.

"The discussion then began to meander. I spoke in broad terms of all that could be done in this beautiful city and empire. . . . Then I spoke of the improvement of the city. . . . I was completely exhausted, the talk must have lasted over two hours. I had spun my web to my liking. So I let the talk die out. The Master likewise found nothing more to say and after a pause, arose. He gave me his hand. I, however, remained, and stipulated above all the greatest secrecy as to our intentions and our understandings. The Master repeated, 'Secret, secret!'

"Further, I wished for a pro-Jewish announcement at a moment to be indicated by myself (I was thinking of the congress). At the end I requested the exact details of the financial condition and the unification project. All this was promised me.

"Then the Master stepped a few paces towards the door on his side. Ibrahim and I stepped back. Ibrahim bent down. To my three half bows the Sultan responded, bow for bow."

IV.

The Grand Cordon, a decoration very rarely conferred, was immediately handed to Herzl, and though he disliked these prizes for a "successful candy manufacturer," the gift of the highest order bestowed by the Sultan impressed even European Royalty. Herzl had made a deep impression on the Sultan, who said "he reminded me of a prophet." Another gift, a diamond stick pin followed. But Herzl and his associates who, like "Sister Ann," looked anxiously for a messenger from the Sultan from the hotel window, were kept on the "anxious seat" for several days. The Sultan remained invisible. But Izzet Bey gave Herzl, as promised, the details of the Debt Unification project, "a veritable thieves' plan" commented Herzl.

The offer to permit Herzl to delve into the mysteries of the Debt Unification plan was evidence, though Herzl knew it not, that the Sultan not only took him seriously, but had confidence in him. It was practically an offer of alliance by the Mussulman overlord with the Jew. Turkey had a considerable, but not unbearable Public Debt. When, during the Crimean War, Turkey entered the Concert of the Powers, the Turks speedily assimilated a western national habit—they began to borrow. Between 1854 and 1876 the French people alone, took out of their fabled stockings over one billion dollars and loaned them to Turkey. Among the entrancing mysteries of Stamboul is, What became of all that money? It did not go into the pockets of the Turkish people and they have little national or civic improvements to show for it.

After Russia took Plevna and England stopped her from entering Constantinople this Public Debt was adjusted, and reduced to \$530,000,000—a small obligation for so great and so rich an empire. But the bondholders, aided by their governments, practically declared Turkey bankrupt and put in as receiver (1881) *L'Administration de la Dette Publique Ottomane*. The English, having paid the French the compliment of giving the commission a French title, proceeded to play a considerable part in the actual management. To Abdul Hamid with his anti-foreign policy this Administration, with its seven hundred agencies and over three thousand regularly paid employees, was a perpetual grievance. It was an efficient organization. It paid its low rate of interest to the bondholders, and amortized the debt. It gave Turkey an honorable financial front. Even during the Greek-Turko War Turkey did not ask for a moratorium.

In 1878, Turkish bonds were practically worthless. In 1901 they were a sound if unprofitable investment. They were bonds—but Turkish and therefore regarded as hazardous.

But it was not this phase that even remotely interested the Sultan and his Camarilla. To secure the bondholders, this Debt Administration had taken into pledge practically all the ordinary and extraordinary available Turkish revenues. The salt, tobacco monopoly, stamp duties, the duties on spirits, fish, the silk tithe, and payments due from Eastern Roumelia, the surplus of the Cyprus Revenue, the Bulgarian tribute, the surplus of the custom house receipts, all were mortgaged to the bondholders. The Sultan's finances were thus controlled and spent without his sanction.

To finance the hordes that lived at Yildiz the Sultan's Finance Minister had to discover new sources of income—wherefore a match tax and similar imposts. Greeks and Armenians daily flocked to Yildiz with projects to finance new concessions and create out of the prospective income of new resources ready cash. Gold, not paper, was handled at Yildiz. Now and then the Debt Administration guaranteed some of the Sultan's obligations; more often they refused to repledge their securities. To an autocrat whose pleasure it was to feed five thousand servitors the situation was galling.

Herzl's shaking of invisible bags of gold sounded pleasant. "A trade" was possible. When the Sultan invited the Zionist leader to assume the task of unifying the debt he was inviting him to assist in releasing Turkey from the Debt Administration and its pledge, and replace it with new bonds issued by an administration Yildiz could control. From the purely financial point of view

the "unification" was feasible, and many financiers were interested in its possibilities. The difficulties were political. But Herzl whose main object in his discussion with the Sultan was personal contact with the "Master," failed in his attempt to keep the wolfish secretaries at bay. Herzl prepared to leave Yildiz showering bakshish as long as he had gold to distribute. But as he entered his carriage he was recalled to the palace by Izzet Bey, whom he had not seen in five years. Herzl immediately betook himself to the office of the First Secretary. Izzet with the wolfish eyes and the friendly grin came in. After asking for a cigarette he assumed the air of an old friend and endeavored to open up the discussion as though he was continuing the interview Herzl had just terminated with the Sultan. Herzl pleaded weariness but the favorite tried to force the conversation. "It is the question of the unification of the debt," he suggested as though he was well informed. Herzl achieved his immediate point, an adjournment; but a day later he found himself in some difficulties with Ibrahim, who affected to regard with suspicion the presence of the secret agent C—— and Herzl's brief conversation with Izzet Bey. The Sultan's pious promise of "secret" was worthless and while Herzl was confidentially dictating to the Ambassadorial Dragoman Ibrahim of the smiling countenance his own plan of action in Ibrahim's office, Izzet Bey appeared on the scene with the first sheet of the Turkish translation and made it clear that no one could safely cross his path.

Then for a few hours in one of the chambers of Yildiz, Herzl fought steadily between double crossing, cheating, and lying officials uncertain as to their mutual alliances and rivalries. Each was jealous for his own

prestige, authority and profit and opposed to the others—"hyenas!" Some moments Herzl felt he was to be their immediate sanguinary prey. But he was determined to hold his own. He understood in all their talk that they were merely inventing new possibilities for loot. He trod warily and spoke softly.

Izzet Bey was the difficulty. The debt unification plan was his and he objected to his plan being regarded as profitless and therefore worthless. Herzl managed to continue the discussion. The government offered him the five principal mining concessions. They had ordered cruisers and needed £4,000,000 to pay for them. Herzl suggested it might be raised. But he wanted concessions for the Jews.

The "panther," as Herzl called him, had no use for an honest analysis of his plan and was angry that Herzl had coolly written to the Sultan "Izzet's unification plan is impracticable and as a project injurious" and involving usury. "Izzet waved Ibrahim's version of my letter grinning triumphantly as though he would say, 'What? You Jewish dog, you did not anticipate that I would obtain possession of your proposals and destroy your intrigue.'"

Izzet seemed ready to declare war, but Herzl was equal to the occasion. He looked the favorite in the eyes and tried to express by looks that he did not care to discuss some matters in the presence of Ibrahim. He was not sure whether Izzet or Tahsin Bey was at the moment in control of the situation. He played for time with smiles, repartee, and innuendoes. After a time Izzet came back, apparently from the Sultan, with a new proposal. There was a possibility of combining a consolidation of the Debt and the admission of Jews. "His Maj-

esty is willing," said Izzet, "to let the Jews come in, but they must become Ottoman subjects. . . . They must not only become Turkish subjects but they must renounce their old allegiance."

Ibrahim added that they should do military service if the Sultan called them to the colors. "On those conditions we will receive the Jews in all parts of our country," explained Izzet, as friendly as a hyena.

Fuming inwardly, Herzl agreed that the Jews would come under the glorious sceptre of the Sultan, but what irritated him was Izzet's suggestion of scattered colonization.

This he opposed on economic grounds, an opposition in which he was firm.

"What one could do would be to establish a great land corporation, to which a given area should be made over and the people settled on it. There is in Palestine plenty of land available for this purpose. If this land company which should be an Ottoman corporation, were granted a worth while concession the land could be made over, and people settled on it who would pay taxes. One might borrow on the prospective income of such a company. That would be a resource for the government."

In this guarded form he gradually turned the discussion of Izzet's impossible debt unification into a consideration of the much desired Charter. He felt his way inch by inch believing in the end that he would win, but that he would have to pay in good money for every line that was conceded. In the midst of the discussion "Izzet Bey disappeared, transparently to repeat to the Sultan all I had said. After a time he returned with a farewell message from the Sultan who expects my positive plans in a month."

"Thus we actually entered into negotiations about the charter. It needs now only luck, acumen, and money to put through all I have planned. Concretely there is not much in these results, and yet I already recognize in today's discussion the embryo of the whole."

V.

With misgivings he had entered Yildiz. Less than six years had passed since "I visited Baron de Hirsch, and after his refusal I decided to go my own way and create the Jewish State." And by indomitable perseverance, he had reached to the "Shadow of God on Earth," the cunning despot whose word was needed to create the Jewish State, but whose word would need the counter-signatures of all the great Powers, if the "Charter" were to have value as public law. And he had come away from Yildiz where "everything was business, and every official a thief . . . a bunch of poisonous snakes . . . rats . . . is the right name for this band of malefactors," with a variety of possible avenues of approach to the goal, and an agreement—whatever the Sultan's word was worth—that he could write direct, and "approach the foot of the throne" without intermediaries. The advance was obvious, if intangible.

But the Sultan puzzled him. "He was neither malicious nor terrible," rather he appeared to Herzl as "a very unhappy prisoner in whose name a thieving infamous scoundrel camarilla, capable of every infamy was acting." Who, he asked himself, "is the real black-guard behind the grotesque mask of this poor Sultan?" Why did the Sultan decline to accept him as the Zionist leader? To Vambery the Sultan described his impression. "Herzl looks like a prophet; like a leader of his people. He has clever eyes, speaks carefully and clearly."

Ibrahim told Wolffsohn, "Jesus Christ must have looked like Herzl."¹

But even Vambery could not explain the whims of this fifteenth century minded monarch whom the fates gave authority in the era of telephones and electricity. Herzl decided that in order to facilitate his negotiations with the Sultan he would learn Turkish, and thus relieve himself from the pressure of the obsequious, crafty, smiling Ibrahim. At times he wondered whether both he and the Sultan were not merely puppets of this interpreter, an easy role; the Sultan knew no French, and Herzl knew no Turkish.

But he could only begin to think of these things when he was again sailing safely down the Black Sea, homeward bound. Prior to leaving Constantinople he gave out a simple statement regarding his audience. But the *London Times* had heralded his arrival in Constantinople by publishing on Wednesday, May 15, a remarkably misleading report. Many Jews rubbed their eyes in amazement when the most authoritative newspaper in Europe reported from Constantinople.

"Dr. Herzl, founder of the Palestine Association, with delegates from Messrs. Rothschild and Messrs. Bleichroeder arrived yesterday to offer the Sultan a loan, conditional on his accepting their project of Jewish colonization in Palestine."

Both the Rothschilds and Bleichroeders promptly issued denials as to their participation in Herzl's project. The usual cloud of dust on a remarkable effort. But Herzl knew nothing of these news dispatches. He reported without delay to Vambery who was more than optimistic as to the probable outcome of Herzl's nego-

¹Arminius Vambery, *Die Welt*, March 10, 1910.

tiations. "He regarded my achievement as immense. I told Vambéry he had accomplished more than he promised. To this the latter responded, 'You are a noble character, because you have not belittled my service.' He believes we will get the charter soon. Vambéry is willing to go to Constantinople in September. In the meantime I shall draft a plan of a charter for him, which he will lay before the Sultan whose signature he will ask, without a minister or secretary knowing anything about it." Encouragement beyond Herzl's calculations.

Even in Vienna, in the sceptical office of the *Neue Freie Presse*, the ribbon of the "Grand Cordon" was impressive. The comment Moritz Benedict bestowed upon Herzl's achievement was the ultimate of German appreciation and surprise: "*Kolossal.*"





